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A long and deep silence has surrounded *Amsterdam Creole Studies*. In this (eleventh) volume the following creole languages are discussed: Haitian, Berbice Dutch, Jamaican Creole. A wide variety of topics of general interest are being touched upon, ranging from Agreement, Predication, Grammaticalization, Decreolization and Variation to Universals for Creole Genesis and Africanisms in the Lexicon.

The editor wants to thank the contributors for their patience.

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The Syntax of Predication in Haitian

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1 Introduction

At first glance, the pattern of Haitian (HA) predicative constructions is puzzling. The puzzle manifests itself most clearly in simple affirmative sentences that are unmarked for tense. In (1a)–(1c), AP, PP and bare NP predicates are string-adjacent to their subjects: these clauses show no overt copula. However, not all kinds of predicates are allowed to be string-adjacent to their subjects. In (1d), the predicate is a nominal occurring with a determiner or is a proper name. I assume that such a predicate is a Determiner Phrase (DP) in the sense of Abney (1987).² With a DP predicate, the morpheme *se* must occur between the subject and the predicate.³

- (1) a. *Bouki* (* *se*) *malad* "Bouki is sick"
Bouki SE sick
b. *Bouki* (* *se*) *anba tab la* "Bouki is under the table"
Bouki SE under table DET
c. *Bouki* (?? *se*) *doktè* "Bouki is a doctor"
Bouki SE doctor
d. *Bouki* *(*se*) { *yon doktè* | *Aristide* }
Bouki SE DET doctor Aristide
"Bouki is { a doctor | Aristide }"

The distinction between AP/PP/NP and DP predicates with respect to occurrence of *se* is blurred in three cases: 1) when the predicate is preceded by a tense morpheme, 2) when the predicate is negated, or 3) when the subject is questioned.

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²See Longobardi (1990) for arguments that proper names are DPs.

³The following abbreviations are used: ANT 'anterior', DEM 'demonstrative', DET 'determiner', FUT 'future', IRREAL 'irrealis', PROG 'progressive', 1sg 'first singular', ... , 3pl 'third plural', # 'pause' (denoting comma intonation), Ø 'phonetically null element'.

(2)	a.	<i>Bouki</i>	(* <i>se</i>)	<i>te</i>	(* <i>se</i>)	<i>malad</i>				"Bouki was sick"
		Bouki	SE	ANT	SE	sick				
	b.	<i>Bouki</i>	(* <i>se</i>)	<i>te</i>	(* <i>se</i>)	<i>anba tab la</i>				"Bouki was under
		Bouki	SE	ANT	SE	under table DET				
		the table"								
	c.	<i>Bouki</i>	(* <i>se</i>)	<i>te</i>	(* <i>se</i>)	<i>doktè</i>				"Bouki was a doctor"
		Bouki	SE	ANT	SE	doctor				
	d.	<i>Bouki</i>	(* <i>se</i>)	<i>te</i>	(* <i>se</i>)	<i>yon doktè</i>				"Bouki was a doctor"
		Bouki	SE	ANT	SE	DET doctor				

(3)	a.	Bouki	(* se)	pa	(* se)	malad					"Bouki is not sick"
		Bouki	SE	NEG	SE	sick					
	b.	Bouki	(* se)	pa	(* se)	anba	tab	la			
		Bouki	SE	NEG	SE	under	table	DET			
											"Bouki is not under the table"
	c.	Bouki	(* se)	pa	(* se)	doktè					
		Bouki	SE	NEG	SE	doctor					
											"Bouki is not a doctor"
	d.	Bouki	(* se)	pa	(* se)	{ yon doktè Aristide }					
		Bouki	SE	NEG	SE	{ DET doctor Aristide }					
											"Bouki is not { a doctor Aristide }"

Another pattern of interest is produced when the subject is *wh*-moved, as in (4). Throughout (4), the complementizer *ki* uniformly surfaces in a position preceding the predicate. Interestingly, in (4d), the predicate, even though a DP, may occur without *se*.⁶

- (4) a. *kimoun ki (* se) malad* "Who is sick?"
 who KI SE sick

⁵Here, one major caveat is in order. There are utterances where *se* does co-occur with an apparent subject and where the predicate is either a bare NP or a tense-marked or negated nominal. This seems to contradict the data in (1c), (2c), (2d), (3c) and (3d). But these utterances crucially differ from the latter by having a pause after *Bouki*, which indicates that *Bouki* is actually in left-dislocated position, cf. (i), (ii) and (iii). (Left-dislocation structures with *se* will not be further discussed.)

- | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|--------------|---|-----------|---------------|----------------|----------------|--------------|--|--|--------------------------------|
| (i) | <i>Bouki</i> | # | <i>se</i> | <i>doktè</i> | | | | | | "Bouki, he is a doctor" |
| | Bouki | | SE | doctor | | | | | | |
| (ii) | <i>Bouki</i> | # | <i>se</i> | (<i>pa</i>) | <i>te</i> | (<i>yon</i>) | <i>doktè</i> | | | "Bouki, he was (not) a doctor" |
| | Bouki | | SE | NEG | ANT | DET | doctor | | | |
| (iii) | <i>Bouki</i> | # | <i>se</i> | <i>pa</i> | (<i>yon</i>) | <i>doktè</i> | | | | "Bouki, he is not a doctor" |
| | Bouki | | SE | NEG | DET | doctor | | | | |

2

- b. *kimoun ki (* se) anba tab la* "Who is under the table?"
 who KI SE under table DET
- c. *kimoun ki (?? se) doktè* "Who is a doctor?"
 who KI SE doctor
- d. *kimoun ki (?? se) { yon doktè | Aristide } ?*
 who KI SE DET doctor Aristide
 "Who is { a doctor | Aristide } ?"

At least one generalization can be drawn from the above data. Whenever there is a DP in predicate position (regardless of whether it is referential), it must be preceded by either *se*, or a tense morpheme such as *te*, or the negation marker *pa*, or the complementizer *ki*.

What is the nature of *se*? It seems reasonable to discard the possibility that *se* is a copulative verb, the counterpart of French *être*: all verbs in Haitian follow negation and tense markers while *se* doesn't. Compare (5) and (6) which show a contrast between *se* and the verb *chante* 'to sing':

- (5) *Bouki (* pa) (* te) [_α se] yon doktè*
 Bouki NEG ANT SE DET doctor
 "Bouki {was|is}(n't) a doctor"
- (6) *Kòk la pa te [_{v0} chante] maten an*
 rooster DET NEG ANT sing morning DET
 "The rooster didn't sing this morning"

In addition, neither can *se* precede negation and tense (when the subject is *not* left-dislocated):

- (7) *Bouki [_α se] (* pa) (* te) yon doktè*
 Bouki SE NEG ANT DET doctor
 "Bouki {was|is}(n't) a doctor"

If *se* were a verb, (5) and (7) would be quite idiosyncratic. Sections 2 and 3 will provide further evidence that *se* is not verbal. (Also see DeGraff 1992b.)

In what follows, I study the nature of *se* and provide an analysis for (1)–(4) focusing on the mechanisms that regulate the (non-)appearance of *se*.⁷ I argue that *se* is a resumptive nominal element functioning as a "last resort" to circumvent an ECP violation. The potentially-offending trace occupies the base-subject position inside a Small Clause and results from movement of the subject to Spec(IP). At D-structure, predication in Haitian is realized inside a Small Clause. With AP, PP and NP predicate, the trace of the subject is head-governed by the head of the predicate; but in the case of DP in (1d), the trace is not head-governed, which causes the trace to surface as *se* to save the structure.⁸

⁷The *se* under study has different properties from the sentence-initial *se* of cleft constructions which uniformly precedes the clefted constituent, irrespectively of its category.

⁸Previous GB analyses related to (HA) predicative constructions include Lumsden (1990) and Déprez & Vinet (1991). In DeGraff (1992a), I explain why these analyses need to be improved upon.

2 Predication vs. Equation?

Frege (1892), Williams (1980), Rothstein (1983), Rapoport (1987) and Baltin (1990), among others, have claimed that it is coincidental that, in English (and German, for Frege), both predication and equation use the verb *be*. Rapoport and Baltin, for example, distinguishes the two types of structures as follows: In predicative structures, like *John is proud*, *be* is inert for θ -assignment, and predication at D-structure is accomplished inside of a Small Clause. In equative structures, like *That man is John*, θ -roles are assigned to two arguments.

It is tempting to adopt the above hypothesis in order to explain (1). Such explanation would proceed in two steps: 1) *Se* is a θ -role-assigning verb, the HA counterpart of 'equative' *be*, and its presence is required in, and only in, equative clauses in order to assign θ -roles to the arguments being equated. (1a), (1b), and (1c) are predicative while (1d) is equative. In other words, HA, unlike English, would overtly differentiate between predication and equation. In a nutshell, this is Fauchois's (1982) take on *se* and the paradigm in (1) — she calls the two types of clauses, exemplified in (1a)/(1b) and (1d) "relation d'attribution" and "relation d'identification", respectively.

Rapoport (1987) explains predication patterns in Hebrew along somewhat similar lines, using θ - and Case-theory to distinguish between predication and equation. The pattern of copular clauses in Hebrew present-tense matrix clauses overlaps with that of HA. In Hebrew, when the predicate is AP, PP or a bare NP, it can occur string-adjacent to the subject, but when the predicate position is occupied by a definite nominal, e.g., a proper name, there must be a number- and gender-agreeing morpheme between subject and predicate, which Rapoport assumes to be a spell-out of AGR in INFL. For Rapoport, a proper name in the predicate position of a copular clause must generally be θ -marked, and therefore requires Case, which it gets from the overt AGR. AP, PP and bare NP are not arguments; thus they don't need Case, and predication by these projections is accomplished directly inside a matrix Small Clause.⁹

However the proposals (too briefly) sketched in the above three paragraphs don't seem to work for the case at hand. As I have argued in (5) and (6), if *se* were a verb, it would be in a subclass all by itself. This peculiarity casts doubts on the verbal status of *se*. Furthermore, in certain syntactic environments, the *se* of so-called equative clauses is absent, even though the sentence maintains its 'equative' reading. One such environment is produced when the subject of a nominal sentence is questioned, cf. (4d) (repeated in (9)). *Se* is obligatorily present in present-tense affirmative matrix clauses with a DP in predicate position:

- (8) *yonn nan nèg sa yo *(se) { yon doktè | Aristide }*
 one in man DEM DET SE DET doctor Aristide
 "One of these men is { a doctor | Aristide }"

Yet when the subject of (8) is questioned, *se* is optional (and even disfavored):

- (9) *kimoun ki (?? se) { yon doktè | Aristide } ?*
 who KI SE DET doctor Aristide
 "Who is { a doctor | Aristide } ?"

In (8) and (9), the nominal predicate remains the same: in both cases a DP. Also, the

⁹For a related proposal for French and English embedded Small Clauses, see Pollock (1983, p. 105ff) where forms of the Case-assigning elements are *être* and *be*.

underlying meaning of the clause is constant, modulo identity of the subject. Let us suppose, for the sake of argument, that Fauchois's account was right and that *se*, as a θ -assigning verb, was responsible for the equative meaning of (8) (with *Aristide* in predicate position). Then, one would expect a DP occurring in predicate position with an 'equative' meaning to require the presence of *se*; i.e., the occurrence of *se* should be obligatory in both (8) and (9). Indeed, in both cases, *Aristide* would be equated to the subject and would need a θ -role. This prediction is not compatible with the facts.^{10,11}

If argument-hood or referentiality of the nominal in predicate position is the harbinger of the distinction between predication and equation, then (8) and (9) pose a problem. Indeed, in both (8) and (9), *yon doktè* does not seem to be an argument, nor does it have the same referential force as *Aristide*. In (8), *yon doktè* seems to indicate a property of the subject while *Aristide* identifies the subject. But, if *yon doktè* is neither an argument nor referential, then there is no reason why it should pattern like *Aristide* in requiring the presence of *se* (for θ -role and/or Case). This is a problem for any account of (1)–(4) based on the argument-hood or referentiality of the projection in predicate position.

Thus, it seems that the pattern of predication in HA cannot be accounted using solely the contrast predication vs. equation. In my analysis, the term 'predication' encompasses both 'predication' (in its more traditional sense) and 'equation'. In particular, I will assume that a nominal in the predicate position of both 'predicative' and 'equative' clauses does function as a predicate over the nominal in subject position. If the nominal in predicate position is not referential, e.g., an indefinite noun, it predicates over the subject without transmitting a referential index to it. If the nominal in predicate position is referential, e.g., a proper name, it, too, predicates over the subject and, in addition, assigns its referential index to the subject through predication (Heggie, 1988). Whence the 'predicative' vs. 'equative' readings of copular clauses.¹²

My analysis does not directly rely on the traditional distinction between 'predication' and 'equation'. Instead, I argue that the different patterns in (1)–(4) result from structural distinctions between the various Small Clauses in which predication takes place at D-structure.

3 The Analysis

3.1 The Proposal

In (1), AP and PP and (arguably) NP behave alike with respect to the occurrence of *se*; DP patterns differently: it necessitates the presence of *se* between subject and predicate. What commonly distinguishes AP, PP and NP from DP? My answer is based on the distinct configurations of AP, PP, NP and DP Small Clauses. These configurational differences seem motivated by the distinct categorial and semantic properties of the predicates in these clauses. Here I am

¹⁰(8) and (9) will be given an account in 3.6.

¹¹Rapoport's (1987) proposal for Hebrew copular sentences does not seem to be adaptable to HA, at least not in a straightforward manner. On her account, *Aristide*, a proper name, is an argument and requires Case; thus, assuming *se* to be the Case-assigning element (the counterpart of overt AGR in Rapoport (1987)), it should be present in both (8) and (9) with *Aristide* in predicate position. *Aristide* in (9) would therefore be incorrectly ruled out.

¹²In both cases, I consider the nominal in predicate position to be a predicate; thus, it is not assigned a θ -role (nor is it assigned Case).

mainly inspired by, although not completely abiding to, Stowell's (1983; 1989) insights about Small Clauses.

3.1.1 Subjects at D-structure

I assume that, at D-structure, predication in HA is always realized within a Small Clause, and that the subject moves to Spec(IP) at S-structure.¹³ What varies is the internal structure of this Small Clause.

I take the lexical heads A, P and N to be inherently predicative.¹⁴ According to Stowell (1989, p. 248), nouns and adjectives — and, I would like to suggest, prepositions — are “pure predicative categories”. As such, at D-structure, they contain a subject which appears in Spec, directly under XP and as a sister of the (highest) X' predicate.

Differently from AP/PP/NP, nominal phrases containing a determiner, DPs, are not inherently predicative, but “have a dual nature” (Stowell, 1989, p. 233) (see also Williams (1983)): they can be either predicative, as in ‘John is a good doctor’, or referential, as in ‘John met a good doctor’. As suggested by Stowell, the potential referentiality of DPs may be attributed to the occurrence of the functional head D⁰ which selects NP. AP and PP do not usually admit determiners and are not referential. At S-structure, assuming Abney's (1987) structure for DP — [_{DP} Spec [_{D'} D⁰ NP]] — and abstracting from linear order, the determiner and its projection hierarchically intervene between the subject and the head noun of the predicate. In what follows, I will argue that the subject predicated over by DP is generated not in Spec(DP), but in a position adjoined to DP.

Why can't the subject be generated in Spec(DP)? Before answering, I will briefly summarize my assumptions about deverbal and non-deverbal nominals. Deverbal nominals, like *destruction*, denote events and processes whereas non-deverbal nominals, like *horse*, denote results and concrete entities.

Only deverbal nominals have θ -grids (Williams, 1981; Grimshaw, 1990). Crucially, Grimshaw (p. 55) notes that “process nominals do not occur predicatively or even with equational *be*, while result nominals do”. Witness the contrast: ‘That was the/an assignment’ vs. * ‘That was the/an assignment of the problem’. Assuming Grimshaw to be right, only non-deverbal nominals need be considered in my analysis of predication in HA, because only they can occur as DPs in predicate position.

Unlike deverbal nominals, non-deverbal nominals do not have a θ -grid. They can only predicate over a subject or assign a Possessor role. In a deverbal nominal like *horse*, Spec(DP) is one position where the Possessor of the head noun may realize genitive Case (Abney, 1987; Stowell, 1989). It is important to realize that ‘Possessor’ does not only refer to the literal owner of the entity described by the head-noun, but that it may refer to a ‘metaphorical’ owner, and, for that matter, to *almost* any entity which can be associated with the head-noun in some pragmatically relevant way. As Williams (1982) stresses, this association may be quite loose. But what matters is that, as noted by Williams, the relation expressed in a deverbal nominal

¹³This is similar to Stowell's (1978) and Burzio's (1986) analyses of copular ‘be’ as a raising verb, except that the raising element in HA is I⁰. See also Couqueaux (1981) for French *être*.

¹⁴Two exceptions: locative PPs may be arguments, and some Ps are merely Case assigners/spell-outs, not heads (Rothstein, 1983).

In addition, Lumsden (1989) has shown that in a complex DP in HA the embedded Possessor DP may move into Spec of the matrix DP in order to get Case through Spec-Head agreement with a null D^0 , as in (10) and (11).¹⁷

- Thus, with a null D^0 , the subject, if generated in Spec(DP), would acquire Case in Spec(DP) before reaching Spec(IP), and, having acquired Case, would remain in Spec(DP). But this is a contradiction since in HA, as shown in (10) and (11), Spec(DP) follows the head noun at S-structure. This obviously does not correspond to the surface position of the subject of predication in (1d).

(12) The Uniformity of θ -Assignment Hypothesis (UTAH):

Given that Spec(DP) of non-deverbal nominals may be occupied by the Possessor of the head-noun, it is a straightforward consequence of UTAH that the role ‘subject of predication’ never be assigned to Spec(DP). The only option left is for the subject predicated over by DP to be generated in a position adjoined to DP.

To recapitulate, I propose that the subject of all predicative sentences in HA be generated inside a Small Clause. For ease of exposition, I let SC-SP denote the base-generated Small Clause Subject Position. In the case of AP, PP and NP, SC-SP is in Spec. In the case of DP, SC-SP is left-adjoined to DP. This is illustrated in (13):

¹⁷ Lumsden argues that proper nouns and kinship terms obey different rules of Case assignment and need not move to Spec(DP) to get Case.

- (13)
$$\begin{array}{ll} [_{AP} \text{ SC-SP } [_{A'} \dots A^0 \dots]] & [_{NP} \text{ SC-SP } [_{N'} \dots N^0 \dots]] \\ [_{PP} \text{ SC-SP } [_{P'} \dots P^0 \dots]] & [_{DP} \text{ SC-SP } [_{DP} \dots [_{D'} \dots D^0 \dots] \dots]] \end{array}$$

3.1.2 Subjects at S-structure

The subject, generated inside a Small Clause, does not receive Case in this position, and would violate the Case filter if it remained in its D-structure position. In (1)–(4), the D-structure subject, no matter what the category of the predicate is, moves from SC-SP into Spec(IP) in order to get Case through Spec-Head agreement with I^0 , leaving a trace.

The trace left in SC-SP by movement of the subject to Spec(IP) must be both identified and head-governed, according to the conjunctive definition of ECP (Stowell, 1986). In all the relevant cases, identification of the trace in SC-SP is satisfied through antecedent-government by the nominal in Spec(IP). What about head-government?

Head-government is government by an overt head. I follow Aoun & Sportiche (1983) in assuming that government must be expressed in terms of *maximal* projections and not in terms of branching nodes. This relation, denoted *m-command* by Chomsky (1986a), is defined in (14):

- (14) $X \text{ } m\text{-commands } Y \text{ iff}$
 $\forall \phi, \phi \text{ a maximal projection, if } \phi \text{ dominates } X \text{ then } \phi \text{ dominates } Y.$

In (1), with AP, PP and NP predicates ((1a)–(1c), respectively) the trace in SC-SP is head-governed by the lexical head of the predicate, and, I^0 being phonetically null, the mapping from D- to S-structure is string-vacuous.^{18,19}

But in the case of predication by DP, (1d), where the subject moves from a position adjoined to DP, the trace is not head-governed from inside the Small Clause because of the intermediate DP node. Consider the adjunction structure in (15).

- (15) $[_{DP_1} \text{ SC-SP } [_{DP_2} \dots D^0 \dots]]$

In (15), the segments DP_1 and DP_2 constitute the DP projection. D^0 is dominated by DP (since it is dominated by both of its segments DP_1 and DP_2). But SC-SP is not dominated by DP (since it is dominated by only one segment of DP, namely DP_1). Thus, DP dominates D^0 , but does not dominate SC-SP. Given (14), D^0 does not *m-command* SC-SP, which then fails to be head-governed from inside DP. Cf. May (1985) and Chomsky (1986a) for definitions.

Neither does I^0 head-govern SC-SP, since I^0 is phonetically null. In order to save the structure, the trace must be spelled-out as a resumptive nominal, *se*, which, being overt, is not subject to ECP. In (2), (3) and (4), head-government is uniformly ensured by *pa* 'NEG', *te* 'ANT'²⁰ and the complementizer *ki*, respectively, and *se* is not needed. Thus, head-government by *pa*, *te* or *ki* obscures the distinction between AP/PP/NP and DP otherwise manifested by (non-)occurrence of *se*.

¹⁸This contrasts to Stowell's (1983; 1989) position according to which the head of a Small Clause does not govern its Spec because of, inter alia, canonical directionality of government. However, Cinque (1990, p. 42) argues that head-government is not directional.

¹⁹In order for the empty I^0 not to violate ECP, I must assume that this empty head vanishes at LF because it is semantically empty. I^0 is present at S-structure only to assign Case to Spec(IP) by Spec-Head agreement. When I^0 is absent at LF, tense is, by default, interpreted as present with statives and anterior with non-statives.

²⁰Recall that I assume Tense, Mood and Aspect markers to be V^0 s (DeGraff, in press).

My analysis rests on the following assumptions:

- I will show that *se* is indeed a resumptive nominal and, then, present the predictions made by my analysis.

When it co-occurs with a DP in Spec(IP), as in (1d) (repeated here as (16)), *se* is a spell-out of the trace left by that DP in SC-SP. In other words, *se* is the tail of an A-chain headed by the DP in Spec(IP).

- “Bouki is { a doctor | Aristide }”

Notice that when *se* is absent — with AP/NP/PP predicates — the trace left in Spec of AP/PP/NP by movement of the Small Clause subject is also subject to Binding Principle A. There is a governor available to the trace in SC-SP inside of the Small Clause, namely the head of the predicate. In addition, the Small Clause contains “all the grammatical functions compatible with the head” (Chomsky, 1986b, p. 171f.). However there is no indexing strictly within the Small Clause which is Binding-Theory compatible with the anaphor in SC-SP. Thus the Binding Domain needs to be extended to include the whole clause where the trace in SC-SP is correctly bound by the subject in Spec(IP).

²²If my analysis is correct, it might be, I believe, the first documented case of a resumptive nominal which is A-bound (cf. Sells (1984) and Shlonsky (1991) for an overview of $\bar{A}$ -bound resumptive pronouns). Of course, it would be nice to find out whether similar resumptive anaphors exist in other languages.

Another question which comes to mind is this: Why can't some other nominal occur in stead of *se* in (1d), i.e., why is (17) ruled out, where *se* is replaced by *li* '3sg'?

- (17) * *Bouki li { yon doktè | Aristide }*
 Bouki 3sg DET doctor Aristide
 "Bouki is { a doctor | Aristide }"

One possible answer revolves around the pronominal nature of *li*. *Li* is inherently specified for person and number features as a third-person singular pronoun. In this respect, *li* differs from *se* which may co-occur with subjects of any person and number features, as shown in (18).

- (18) { *mwen* | *ou* | *li* }_i *se_i* *yon doktè*
 1sg 2sg 3sg SE DET doctor
 "{ I am | You are | He/She is } a doctor"

Furthermore, *li* is not anaphoric:

- (19) *li ap gade *(tèt-) li nan glas la*
 3sg PROG look head 3sg in mirror DET
 "He/She is looking at {him|her}self in the mirror"

It seems thus reasonable to assume that *li*, contrarily to *se*, is inherently pronominal and subject to Binding Principle B. But, then, in (17), *li* is improperly bound by *Bouki* inside of its Binding Domain, whence the ungrammaticality of (17).

3.3 HA Resumptive Pronouns and Island Violations

I analyze *se* as a nominal which can be used resumptively to save a structure that would otherwise violate ECP. I believe that this is not an ad-hoc move. On the one hand, the use of resumptive pronouns as an escape hatch to ECP and/or subjacency is amply documented, cf. Sells (1984) and Shlonsky (1991) and references cited therein. On the other hand, the presence of resumptive pronouns is well attested in the grammar of HA, outside of 'se-related' phenomena. Koopman (1982) produces (20) as an example of a resumptive pronoun (in bold-face) used in a relative clause in order to circumvent an ECP violation:

- (20) [*chen_i* [*m te kase pat *(li_i)*]] *a te mòde m*
 dog 1sg ANT break leg 3sg DET ANT bite 1sg
 "The dog whose leg I broke bit me"

In (20), the head noun *chen* 'dog' is being modified by a relative clause formed by *wh*-movement of a genitive empty operator. The entities referred by the operator and the head-noun *pat* 'leg' are in a Possessor-Possessed relation. Koopman assumes that the Possessor position is not properly governed. Equivalently, given my assumptions about the structure of DPs in HA, the trace of the operator, being in Spec(DP), is not head-governed: *pat*, does not m-command Spec(DP) because of the intervening NP projection, and null D⁰ does not qualify as a head-governor. Thus, the trace must be "lexicalized" as a resumptive pronoun, *li*, in order for the structure not to violate ECP.

In (21), I further exhibit that HA resumptive pronouns are not constrained by subjacency.

- (21) a. *Men eleman_i [mwen te wè [makout [ki te bat *(li_i) an]]]*
 here fellow 1sg ANT see thug KI ANT beat 3sg DET
 "Here is the fellow who I saw the thug who beat him"
- b. *kimoun_i [ou pral mande laprès [si *(li_i) te mouri]]*
 who 2sg FUT ask press if 3sg ANT die
 "Who will you ask the press whether he died?"

In both (21a) and (21b), the (bold-faced) resumptive pronoun *li* rescues a sentence which otherwise would have been ungrammatical because of subjacency: (21a) is extraction out of a complex nominal and (21b) is extraction out of a *wh*-island.

Se, as well as *li*, can function as a resumptive pronoun. In (22), *se* occurs in Spec(IP) of the embedded clause (a *wh*-island), and rescues a potential ECP violation. Compare (21b), (22) and (23).

- (22) *kimoun_j ou te mande m [si *(se_j) yon pwofesè?]*
 who 2sg ANT ask 1sg if SE DET professor
 "Who did you ask me whether he/she is a professor?"
- (23) *kimoun_j yo pral mande Aristide_i [si pèp lan renmen ??(li_j)]?*
 who 3pl FUT ask Aristide if people DET love 3sg
 "Who will they ask Aristide whether the people likes (him)?"

The sentences in (21b), (22) and (23) all instantiate *wh*-island extractions made possible by the spelling-out of the trace as a resumptive pronoun, *li* or *se*.²³

3.4 Absence of *Se* with Bare NPs

I have argued that what motivates the presence of *se* in (1d) is the failure of head-government of SC-SP from inside the predicative Small Clause. Only when the predicate is DP, does (a segment of) a maximal projection intervene between the subject and the head of the predicate. In other words, what forces the presence of *se* is the occurrence of the functional head *D*⁰.

That the occurrence of *D*⁰ has this effect is evidenced by the contrast between NP and DP shown in (24) and (25). Because Spec(DP) is sometimes occupied by the Possessor DP and because of UTAH (cf. 12), the subject of a DP Small Clause is base-generated adjoined to DP. However, when the noun is bare, i.e., occurring without a determiner, the predicative Small Clause is NP and the subject is generated in Spec(NP), and the lexical head *doktè* head-governs

²³(i) and (ii) are two alternative grammatical versions of (22):

- (i) *kimoun_j ou te mande m [si l_j yon pwofesè?]*
 who 2sg ANT ask 1sg if 3sg DET professor
- (ii) *kimoun_j ou te mande m [si l_j se yon pwofesè?]*
 who 2sg ANT ask 1sg if 3sg SE DET professor

It is important to note that in (22) and (i), *se* and *li*, respectively, occur in Spec(IP) of the embedded clause and not in SC-SP. The empty scope operator in Spec of the CP headed by *si* 'if' prevents passage of *kimoun* 'who' through it (cf. Larson 1985). Thus, it is from Spec(IP) of the embedded clause that *kimoun* moves directly to the matrix Spec(CP) jumping over the intermediate Spec(CP), and it is from this position that emanates the threat of an ECP violation due to lack of antecedent-government. It is therefore the trace in Spec of the embedded IP that *se* spells out to avoid the ECP violation. The trace in SC-SP obeys ECP: it is head-governed by *si* and antecedent-governed from Spec(IP). In (ii), the traces in Spec(IP) and SC-SP are both spelled-out, by *li* and *se*, respectively. See 3.6 for why *se* in (ii) may realize the trace in SC-SP, even though it is head-governed.

the subject in Spec. At S-structure, the trace left by movement in Spec(NP) is head-governed by the head noun, and need not (and cannot) be spelled-out as *se*.

- (24) a. * *Bouki yon doktè* "Bouki is a doctor"
 Bouki DET doctor
 b. *Bouki doktè*
- (25) a. * *Honorat premye minis la* "Honorat is the Prime Minister"
 Honorat prime minister DET
 b. *Honorat premye minis* "Honorat is Prime Minister"

3.5 Absence of *Se* in Tense-Marked and Negated Clauses

Recall what happens when a nominal sentence is overtly tense-marked or negated, as in (2d) and (3d). When a tense marker (*te* 'ANT', *pral* 'FUT') or the negation marker *pa* precedes DP, *se* must be absent in the position preceding the tense or negation marker. Here I will argue that my analysis naturally extends to explain this pattern. I will focus on tense-marked nominal sentences. The analysis of other tense-marked predicative sentences and that of negated predicative sentences are very similar.

In (2d) (= (26)), the presence of *te* renders that of *se* superfluous. Why?

- (26) *Bouki te yon doktè* "Bouki was a doctor"
 Bouki ANT DET doctor

I hypothesize the following D- and S-structures for (26) (irrelevant nodes having been pruned):²⁴

- (27) D-structure : [_{IP} [_{I'} I⁰ [_{VP} *Bouki* [_{V'} [_{V⁰} *te*] [_{DP} *yon doktè*]]]]]
 S-structure : [_{IP} *Bouki*_i [_{I'} I⁰ [_{VP} *e_i* [_{V'} [_{V⁰} *te*] [_{DP} *yon doktè*]]]]]

In (26), the verbal head *te* combines with the nominal phrase *yon doktè* to form a V'-predicate. As shown in (27), *Bouki* is generated in the Spec(VP), and at S-structure moves to Spec(IP) to get Case. The trace *e_i* left in Spec(VP) is head-governed by *te*.²⁵ Thus VP behaves like AP, PP and NP, with respect to occurrence of *se*. There is no need for the resumptive anaphor *se* to show up, given that it is "always a last-resort device" (Shlonsky, 1991) and that its superfluous occurrence would violate the principle of economy (Chomsky, 1989).²⁶

The analysis of negated predicative clauses is very similar to that of tense-marked clauses. *Pa* heads a Negation Phrase, and the subject is generated in Spec of the Negation Phrase, where it is head-governed.²⁷ In (28) I give the structures for the negated nominal phrase *Bouki pa yon doktè* 'Bouki is not a doctor'.

- (28) D-structure : [_{IP} [_{I'} I⁰ [_{NegP} *Bouki* [_{Neg'} [_{Neg} *pa*] [_{DP} *yon doktè*]]]]]
 S-structure : [_{IP} *Bouki*_i [_{I'} I⁰ [_{NegP} *e_i* [_{Neg'} [_{Neg} *pa*] [_{DP} *yon doktè*]]]]]

²⁴The structures in (27) fall directly in line with the 'subject-in-VP' hypothesis of Koopman & Sportiche (1988).

²⁵ Alternately, if *Bouki* is base-generated adjoined to the DP *yon doktè*, its trace there, after movement to Spec(IP), would also be head-governed by *te*.

²⁶When *se* co-occurs with both *te* and a non-pronominal subject as in (i), the construction is a left-dislocated structure, with *se* in Spec(IP) (after movement from Spec of the VP headed by *te*) and with *Bouki* adjoined to IP (Cf. DeGraff (1992a) and Déprez & Vinet (1991)).

²⁷But, as in note (25) regarding tense-marked clauses, *Bouki* could also originate adjoined to DP and still be head-governed (by *pa* in this case).

3.6 Absence of *Se* When the Subject Is Questioned

First note that, in simple questions, the complementizer *ki* co-occurs with the *wh*-element only when the *wh*-element originates in subject position:

- (29) a. *Bouki renmen Mari* "Bouki loves Mari"
 Bouki love Mari
 b. *kimoun (* ki) Bouki renmen* "Who does Bouki love?"
 who KI Bouki love
 c. *kimoun *(ki) renmen Mari* "Who loves Mari?"
 who KI love Mari

That *ki* occurs only with movement from subject position suggests that its presence is required for head-government. This pattern resembles a classical case of subject/object asymmetry. The object position is head-governed by the verb, but the subject position, Spec(IP), is not head-governed by I^0 which is null (although Spec(IP) is Case-marked though Spec-Head agreement with I^0). Recall that the deep subject first moves from SC-SP to Spec(IP). Thus *wh*-movement of subjects in predicate sentences goes through Spec(IP).

When the subject is *wh*-moved, the appearance of *ki* does not depend of the category of the predicate, whether it be VP, AP, PP, NP or DP:

- (30) a. *kimoun *(ki) [VP renmen Mari]* "Who loves Mary?"
 who KI love Mari
 b. *kimoun *(ki) [AP malad]* "Who is sick?"
 who KI sick
 c. *kimoun *(ki) [PP anba tab la]* "Who is under the table?"
 who KI under table DET
 d. *kimoun *(ki) [NP doktè]* "Who is a doctor?"
 who KI doctor
 e. *kimoun *(ki) [DP yon doktè]* "Who is a doctor?"
 who KI DET doctor

(30) furthers my argument that subject *wh*-movement goes through Spec(IP) and not directly from SC-SP to Spec(CP). Indeed, with AP, PP and NP, SC-SP is in Spec and is head-governed by the head of the predicate, whereas, with DP, SC-SP is in adjoined position and is not head-governed. Therefore, if the appearance of *ki* was regulated by whether SC-SP was head-governed, then *ki* would be required only with DP predicates. Given, that *ki* is required with all sorts of predicates, we must assume that its appearance is required for head-government of Spec(IP), which in the case of simple sentences is not head-governed.²⁸ We further assume that *ki* is a complementizer, occupying the head of CP (Koopman, 1982).²⁹

Now, how can I explain (30e)? In (30e), the predicate is DP, SC-SP is not head-governed from inside the Small Clause, but *se* is absent. The appearance of *ki* as head of CP has the following effect. Not only does *ki* head-govern Spec(IP), it also head-governs SC-SP, rendering the appearance of *se* optional. I^0 , a potential closer head-governor, does not block head-government

²⁸But, see DeGraff (forthcoming; in press) for the different behavior of *ki* in embedded clauses.

²⁹Instead of *ki* occurring in C^0 , why doesn't *se* (or *li*) occur in Spec(IP) in order to prevent the ECP violation? I don't have a good answer at this point, but I can restate the question more suggestively as: Why is inserting the overt head *ki* less 'costly' than inserting the maximal projection *se*?

of SC-SP through Minimality because I' and IP are defective in terms of barrierhood (Chomsky, 1986a, p. 47f).

- (31) $[_{CP} \text{kimoun}_i [_{C'} [_{C^0} \text{ki}] [_{IP} e_i' [_{I'} I^0 [_{DP} \left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} e_i \\ se_i \end{smallmatrix} \right\} [_{DP} \text{yon} \text{ doktè}]]]]]]]]$
- who KI DET doctor

Why is the appearance of *se* in (31) optional, not ungrammatical, whereas such appearance would be ungrammatical in both (30b) and (30c)? I will venture that this distinction might be related to the 'distance' between governor and governee. In (31), intervening between the governor and the governee, there exist: 1) one maximal projection, IP; and 2) the site for one potential head-governor, I⁰. As a result, *se* may 'spell out' the trace *e_i*. In (30b) and (30c) the governor (the lexical head of the predicate) and the governee (in Spec) are under the very same maximal projection and the appearance of *se* spelling-out the trace *e_i* would produce ungrammaticality: *Kimoun ki (* se) malad ?*; *Kimoun ki (* se) anba tab la ?*.

4 Implications for the Syntax of Small Clauses

If my proposal is on the right course, Small Clauses are neither uniformly maximal projections with subject in Spec (as in Stowell) nor uniformly adjunction structures with subject sister to a maximal projection (as in Manzini (1983) or, more recently, Heycock (1991)). They are either 'Stowellian' or 'Manzinian' depending on the category of their head: In AP, PP, and NP Small Clauses, subject is in Spec; in DP Small Clauses, subject is adjoined to DP.

This 'hybrid' approach to the syntax of HA Small Clauses solves Stowell's (Stowell 1983, note 30; Stowell 1989, p. 252ff) dilemma about the structure of English DP Small Clauses where the DP in predicate position contains a possessive pronoun or a genitive DP, as in the following: "John considers James { his | Mary's } best friend". As noted by Stowell, the preceding sentences are problematic given that he posits subjects in Spec for *all* Small Clauses. But Spec(DP) in the embedded clauses "James { his | Mary's } best friend" is preempted by the possessive pronoun or the genitive DP. In my account, the subject of DP is always adjoined to DP and there is no contention for the Spec(DP) position. Yet, my analysis takes advantage of Stowell's insights (with respect to Small Clauses which are headed by lexical categories).

In a related vein, my analysis of predication in HA supports the distinction between NP and DP (Abney, 1987; Stowell, 1989), and argues that this distinction has repercussions on the syntax of Small Clauses and on the syntax of predication. In Haitian, the structural differences between NP and DP are overtly reflected in the patterns they give rise to when used as predicates: only in DP Small Clauses is the deep subject not head-governed by the predicate head, and this failure of head-government is manifested by the surfacing of *se* as a resumptive anaphor.

One final generalization suggested by the data is that all *lexical* categories have their Spec position available as subject of predication at D-structure, whereas this might not *necessarily* be so with functional categories such as D⁰ (and I⁰, C⁰, etc.). Thus Stowell's (1983, p. 308) hypothesis that "the subject position should be generalized across [the Spec of] syntactic categories" might need to be restricted to lexical categories. So, in some sense, my proposal could be interpreted as a finer-tuned version of Stowell's.

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THE SEARCH FOR UNIVERSALS IN LANGUAGE GENESIS: ÉTAT DE LA QUESTION AND RESEARCH PROGRAM*

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0. Introduction

There is a large literature on universals in language genesis, which I will not try to summarize here, referring the reader to such recent introductions to the field as Holm (1988), Mühlhäusler (1986), and particularly Romaine (1988), and to Mufwene (1990). A picture both rich and confused emerges there, of which the following is but a gross simplification.

This paper briefly examines two dominant approaches to the issue of universals in language genesis, and proposes a third one, which is then fleshed out somewhat in a sketch for a research program. The proposal focusses on the need to develop a more explicit universal theory of language contact, in which pidgin and creole data are combined with those from other fields in language contact studies: borrowing (lexical, phonological, and grammatical), intercultural communication, second language learning, code-switching, etc.

1. Procedural and constitutive universals

The two dominant conceptions of universals in the genesis of languages can be termed procedural and constitutive. To understand what these two conceptions are about, consider the very schematic figure in (1), depicting the circumstances under which languages can emerge (again I refer the reader to the introductions listed above).

(1) CONTACT: PROCESS X ---> PIDGIN
 |
 PROCESS Y ---> CREOLE

Now the nature of the processes involved in genesis is quite controversial. Some researchers deny that all creoles had an identifiable pidgin ancestor, and indeed there is a great deal of disagreement on what pidgins may look like: are they very unstable and limited systems, or can they be conventionalized and relatively expanded. Finally of course, there is much disagreement on the nature of the processes X and Y.

The reason that universals are mentioned at all when we are discussing language genesis is that the newly formed languages are often assumed to be alike in ways that cannot be explained exclusively through reference to the similarities between the contributing languages. Hence the appeal to universals, and the universals involved are the two types mentioned: procedural universals, universal properties of processes X and Y, and constitutive universals, universal properties of the resulting pidgins and creoles.

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1.1. Procedural universals

Procedural universals generally have a (more or less precisely defined) psycholinguistic basis and are formulated as strategies a speaker may employ in the language contact situation.

For pidgin genesis universal properties are attributed either to the adaptation mechanisms of speakers of the dominated languages, as possibly in (2), or of the dominant colonial languages.

- (2) Disregard pre-verbal unstressed elements in the target (Schuchardt 1883: 237)

While (2) can account for the fact that the Romance pre-verbal clitics have disappeared in the creole languages. Since the strategy is one of reduction, it is assumed to characterize pidgin genesis. It is problematic in that it cannot correspond to a learning process in the form formulated. If we assume it is part of one of Slobin's operating principles (e.g. 1978) governing language learning, as in (3), this problem disappears:

- (3) Pay attention to the end of the word.

Anthony Naro (1973 and later work) has formulated principle (4) to describe the way speakers of the dominant languages may have adapted their speech in the language contact situation:

- (4) Express each separately intuited element of meaning by a phonologically separate stress-bearing form.

Such a principle would explain the amount of semantic transparency characteristic of some aspects of pidgin and creole systems.

For creole genesis we must think of the kind of developmental universals suggested (but never formulated clearly) in the work of Mühlhäusler (1986), governing the gradual expansion and development of systems of signifiers.

I have no quarrel as such with procedural universals. Undoubtedly there are general mechanisms of language learning. I do find them rather vague in many cases.

1.2. Constitutive universals

Constitutive universals belong to the domain of some theory of grammar. A first instance is (5):

- (5) Every natural language must conform to Universal Grammar.

This principle, which has its basis clearly within the generative research tradition, is interesting in two respects. First of all, it undercuts the basis for the commonly held assumption that creoles are in some sense special languages.

Second, it potentially allows us to make a principled grammatical distinction between pidgins - need not conform to UG - and creoles - must conform to UG. This in turn could lead to research into the development from pidgin to creole where we could see UG in action, as it were. The trouble is that strong versions of the Interlanguage Hypothesis, which holds that even intermediary products of second language learning are natural languages, would imply that pidgins, inasmuch as they are like interlanguages, fall under (5).

Thus (5) offers not much of particular interest, however true. A principle such as (6) is more promising:

- (6) Creole languages present the unmarked option for each parameter of Universal Grammar.

This proposal was made concretely by Bickerton (1984), but the idea behind it appears in much work from early on in the field of creole studies. If it were plausible, it would lead a fruitful set of research questions: we would have an independent grip on markedness theory. To get some idea of what features creoles have in common, consider (7) and (8):

- (7) wanpela man i bin skulim mi long Tok Pisin TOK PISIN
 one man PR ANT teach me in Tok Pisin
 'A man was teaching me Tok Pisin'
- (8) so mo ka ta toka palmu SENEGAL CRIOULO
 one hand NEG HAB touch palm
 'One hand can't touch its palm'

Generally we find a subject-verb-object word order, and between the subject and the verb different particles can occur. In the Tok Pisin example (7) a predicate marker *i* and an anterior tense marker *bin*. In the Sénégal Crioulo example (8) these are a negation marker *ka* and a habitual or generic marker *ta*. Often these particles have a relatively fixed order, roughly the one in (9):

- (9) negation (predicate marker) TENSE MOOD ASPECT

In addition, many of the semantic categories expressed by these particles occur in creole after creole as well. Anterior tense (marking a moment in time prior to a reference point) is more common than absolute past (marking a moment in time prior to the moment of speech) tense. Often there is an irrealis mood category, which expresses counterfactuality, distant future, volition.

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There are several problems with (6), however. First of all, the colonial history that gave rise to most creoles imposes serious limitations on the data-base. The colonial languages are all Romance or Germanic, and many of the African languages involved in the Atlantic creoles are Niger-Congo, or even more restrictedly, Kwa. Thus, it is hard to see whether many of the features that creoles have in common are not simply due to common ancestry.

Second, creoles do not present a unified group when we consider some of the more familiar parameters that have played a role in research in the past decade, such as pro-drop and preposition stranding. Many creole languages show the pattern of Papiamentu in (10):

- | | | |
|---------|--|------------|
| (10) a. | e ta kome | PAPIAMENTU |
| | he ASP eat | |
| | 'He is eating' | |
| | (compare Spanish <i>él está comiendo</i>) | |
| b. | *[0] ta kome | |
| | (compare Spanish <i>está comiendo</i>) | |

Notice, however, that with impersonal verbs, there are differences:

- | | | |
|---------|------------------------------------|------------|
| (11) a. | [0] ta parse ku Wanchu a bini bek | PAPIAMENTU |
| | 'it seems that John has come back' | |
| b. | [0] semble Jan pati | HAITIAN |
| | 'it seems that John has left' | |
| | (Deprez, 1990) | |
| c. | a gersi dati Johnny doro | SRANAN |
| | 'it seems that John has arrived' | |

Here the pattern of the creoles does not follow that of the three colonial lexifier languages (Ibero-Romance pro-drop, French and English no pro-drop) completely for Haitian. Moreover, there are cases of English-related creoles, so far little studied, with pro-drop as well, such as Miskito Coast English Creole (O'Neill, ms.).

In addition, we find patterns of absent subjects in Pacific creoles such as Hawaiian English:

- | | | |
|------|--|------------------|
| (12) | sam gaiz samtaimz [0] <i>dei</i> kam | HAWAIIAN ENGLISH |
| | 'Sometimes some guys come' | |
| (13) | difren bilifs [0] <i>dei</i> get, sam gaiz | |
| | 'Some guys have different beliefs' | |
| | (Bickerton, 1981) | |

In (12) and (13) *dei* can be argued to be a pre-verbal particle marking a subject position which can remain empty, either through left-dislocation as in (12), or through inversion, as in (13).

Admittedly, the whole discussion surrounding pro-drop has become more complex, and the original optimism concerning a single parameter has died down. Also, no creole system has been thoroughly explored yet, as far as I know, with regards to possibilities for empty subjects. Nonetheless, initial results are not promising as regards the possibility of establishing a uniform parameter setting for pro-drop for a larger group of creole languages.

Similarly for preposition stranding. Notice that even an English-based creole such as Sranan does not allow preposition-stranding (English itself allowing it of course). This would confirm the idea that not-stranding is the unmarked option, as Van Riemsdijk (1978) had assumed:

- (14) * a nefi san a e koti a brede *nanga* _____ SRANAN
 the knife that he ASP cut the bread with
 'The knife that he cuts the bread with'

When we look at the creole languages more generally, three groups can be discerned, however. One small group of English-based creoles and Dutch-based creoles that allows stranding, a large group that does not allow stranding, and a group of Ibero-Romance based creoles that allows stranding only when the resulting gap or trace is realized as an unmarked pronoun.

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---------------|
| (15) a. stranding allowed: | Jamaican |
| | Krio |
| | Berbice Dutch |
| | Negerhollands |
| b. stranding not allowed: | Saramaccan |
| | Sranan |
| | Haitian |
| c. stranding with trace spell-out: | Papiamentu |
| | Capeverdean |

What makes the case of Papiamentu special, and distinct from languages which allow resumptive pronouns in prepositional phrases (e.g. in relative clauses), such as Sranan, is that in Papiamentu the spelled-out traces do not show number agreement when the antecedent is plural, while resumptive pronouns do.

Again, there is considerable variation rather than the uniformity that principle (6) would have us believe. None of this comes as a surprise if we assume that creoles are just like other natural languages, distinguished through parametric variation. For me it makes attempts to establish constitutive universals for creoles less promising, however.

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This should keep no one from working on creoles just as one would on other languages: indeed they are quite complicated systems that have much to offer to grammarians. In addition, since they share some features (as well as not sharing others) with well-studied Western European languages such as English, Dutch, French, and Ibero-Romance, the type of research into subtle parametric differences between related languages that has characterized orthodox generative work in this last decade can be fruitfully pursued as well. One can imagine a series of sophisticated grammatical comparisons of Haitian and French, Jamaican and British English, etc. and indeed some of those have started appearing (DeGraff, 1992; Lefebvre et al., 1990; 1991; 1992).

2. Interactive universals: a research proposal

The question then becomes: is there any theoretical basis for studying the creole languages as a group? My answer is: yes, but only as part of a larger range of phenomena of language contact. Where creoles can and should contribute is toward a more general theory of possible interactions between grammatical systems: interactive universals. Not just the colonial languages contributed to the creoles, but also the dominated languages of Africa, Asia and the Pacific - termed substrate languages - played a crucial role in the formation of many of them as well.

The proposal I want to make goes against a train of thought characteristic of much recent work in the field, which runs roughly as follows: explaining language genesis can proceed either by postulating language universals (procedural or constitutive) or by appealing to the contribution of particular substrate languages. Thus, to phrase the contrast in terms of a great nineteenth century debate, substrate explanations could be considered historicist - in terms of accidents of human history - and non-substrate ones as romanticist - in terms of inherent properties of the systems involved. A conference held in Amsterdam a few years ago stressed this contrast in its title *Universals versus Substrata in Creole Genesis* (a book appeared with the same title; cf. Muysken & Smith, 1986). Universals are exciting, substrate is particularistic, and hence boring, in this perspective.

What is needed is in fact a theory of how substrata can play a role, where they do and where they do not. This theory cannot be formulated by looking simply at the evidence of the creole languages, since many of them emerged over three hundred years ago and since often the evidence is ambiguous and controversial. What we must do is through studying more contemporary cases of language mixing, see what general properties these have, and then go back to the evidence of the creoles. Here I will sketch one example of this, to show how this research could proceed. In the conclusion, I will briefly sketch some other areas where relevant research can be carried out.

It will be difficult to really deal with the issue here to what extent the substratum languages have played a role in the genesis of creoles. That question is far too generally put. There are cases where they clearly have, such as Berbice Dutch Creole (Kouwenberg 1991; Smith, Robertson, and Williamson, 1987) and Gulf of Guinea Portuguese Creole

(Ferraz, 1975, 1979), and others where evidence for substrate is very slight, such as Reunion French Creole. Neither the first set of cases nor the second one can be taken as 'typical' or 'exemplary'. Rather we should set up a theory which adequately accounts for the *pattern* of substrate influence where it is arguably present.

2.1. Presumed substrate properties of the Caribbean creoles

Caribbean creoles have often been assumed to share certain features of the Kwa-group of West-African languages, notably Fon and Akan (Alleyne, 1981; Boretzky, 1983). This has also been disputed, most recently in a remarkable paper by Bickerton (1989). For the purpose of my argument it is not important whether the assumption is actually correct. The point of my argument is that the presence of substrate influence is as interesting, from a universalist perspective, as its absence, and as much constrained by linguistic principles.

A first reputed feature are the serial verb patterns (Voorhoeve, 1975):

- | | | |
|------|---|------------|
| (16) | e-l-a <i>bula bay</i>
he ASP fly go
'He flew away' | PAPIAMENTU |
| (17) | li <i>pote sa bay mo</i>
he bring that give me
'He brought that for me' | GUYANAIS |

In (16) *bula* 'fly' and *bay* 'go' (both derived from Ibero-Romance) form a verbal chain, and are predicated of the subject together. Similarly for *pote* 'carry' and *bay* 'give' (both derived from French verbs) in (17). We find many cases of serial verb chains in most Caribbean creoles. Another example is given in (18) below, where *teki* 'take' and *koti* 'cut' form a chain.

A second potential substrate feature is predicate cleft (Bynoe-Andriolo and Yillah, 1975): the copying of a verb for focus in sentence-initial position, often after a particle which may be the copula or be related to it:

- | | | |
|------|--|--------|
| (18) | na <i>teki</i> edgar <i>teki</i> a nefe <i>koti</i> a brede
be take Edgar take the knife cut the bread
'Really with the knife Edgar cut the bread' | SRANAN |
|------|--|--------|

Again, most Caribbean creoles and a number of West-African languages share this feature.

A third, fairly obvious feature concerns numerous idioms (e.g. Hancock, 1980; Turner, 1949) that are very similar in the Caribbean and in West-Africa. Idioms are tricky because often the type of metaphor implied is almost universal, but still the number is too large and the similarities too great to discount it.

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A fourth feature concerns ideophones, which occur in many Caribbean creoles as well as in West-African languages. Some examples from the Surinam maroon language Saramaccan, where they are particularly prominent (Rountree & Glock, 1982: 145-7):

- (19) *mi hopo vuu* 'I got up suddenly'
 mi naki en gboo 'I hit it with force'
 a weti faan 'It's really white'
 a guun pii 'It's really green'

A fifth property concerns subcategorization and selection features of verb classes (Koopman, 1986). Koopman argues that the types of complement selected by Haitian verbs closely resemble that of verbs in different West-African languages. The same point made in recent work by Lefebvre and her colleagues.

On the other hand, the creoles also lack a great many features of the West-African languages. As to word order, West-African languages are often underlyingly OV, and Caribbean creoles very consistently VO. In addition, the tense/mood/aspect systems of the two language groups do not correspond, and neither do the nominal determiner systems.

Finally, we find that morpho-syntactic categories do not correspond. A case in point are the question word systems of Fon and Saramaccan, studied by Smith (cf. Muysken & Smith, 1990). These systems are of interest here since Smith can show that the Saramaccan words *ambe* 'who' and *andi* 'what' derive from dialects of Gbe, closely related to Fon. There is evidence for direct transmission. Nonetheless, the semantic organization of the rest of the paradigm is not parallel:

(20)	Fon:	forms	analysis
	WHO	* m -tm*	person-Q <u>m</u> (fusion)
	WHAT	e-t /ani/*nu-	that-Q/what/*thing-Q n <u>n</u> (fusion)
	WHICH=A	t	Q
	WHEN	hwe-t (-nu)	time-Q-(thing)
	WHERE	fi-t /fi	place-Q/ <u>fi</u> (fusion)
	WHY	e-t -u(tu)/ani u(tu)	that-Q-body/what-body/
		ani gbe/n -gbo	what-aim/what-towards
	HOW	n ... gbo	what ... by

(21)	Saramaccan	forms	analysis
	WHO	ambe	who
	WHAT	andi	what
	WHICH=A	un-	Q
	WHICH=N	un-di	Q-this/that
	WHEN	(na)-un-te	(LOC)-Q-time
		(na)-un-juu	(LOC)-Q-hour
		un-juu-te	Q-hour-time
		naoten (atrophied)	< <i>na-un-ten</i>
	WHERE	un-kamia	Q-place
		(na)-un-s	(LOC)-Q-side
		naas (atrophied)	< <i>na-un-se</i>
	WHY	andi	what
		fu andi edi	for what head
		fu andi mbei	for what make
		fu andi baka	for what back
		andi mbei	what make
	HOW=N	(un)-fa	Q-fashion
	HOW=A	un-	Q-

While the two basic forms from Fon occur in Saramaccan as well, the rest of the question word system is not modelled or calqued upon the Fon system.

Clearly, what is needed to make a plausible case for substrate influence is an account that explains the pattern of transmission found: lexical properties of content words survive, properties of function words and other grammatical patterns do not.

2.2. Relexification

I would like to argue that the pattern of relexification found in the case of Media Lengua, a half-Spanish, half-Quechua vernacular contact language from Ecuador provides such an explanation (Muysken 1981), if the process of relexification is assumed to have been responsible for the substrate influence.

Whether it does or not is a complicated issue (cf. Muysken, 1988). Ordinarily, it is assumed that processes of second language learning with a reduced input are responsible for the formation of the plantation pidgins that lead to the Caribbean creoles. However, the second language acquisition literature is fairly conclusive about the fact that, as far as is known, the type of transfer that would be needed to produce substratum effects is generally absent in second language learning. For a while it was thought that ordinary processes of second language learning would involve positive transfer from the substrate languages, but the extensive study of second language learning processes in the last two

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decades makes such an assumption unwarranted. Thus the type of second language learning that must have led to the plantation pidgins must have been of a particular type: non-target directed, L1-based, etc, and this may be similar to relexification.

Consider first some examples. (22a) is the Media Lengua form, (22b) the corresponding Quechua, and (22c) the corresponding Spanish form.

- | | | |
|---------|---------------------------------------|--------------|
| (22) a. | unu fabur-ta pidi-nga-bu bini-xu-ni | MEDIA LENGUA |
| | one favor AC ask NOM for come PR 1 | |
| | 'I come to ask a favor' | |
| b. | shuk fabur-da maña-nga-bu shamu-xu-ni | QUECHUA |
| c. | vengo para pedir un favor | SPANISH |

Notice among other things that the Media Lengua version corresponds to the Quechua version morpho-syntactically. As to lexicon, the Quechua version only has one Spanish borrowing, *fabur*, while Media Lengua roots are all from Spanish. The same phenomenon can be observed in (23) and (24):

- | | | |
|---------|--|--------------|
| (23) a. | kuyi-buk yirba nuwabi -shka | MEDIA LENGUA |
| | cavia for grass there is not SD | |
| | 'There turns out to be no grass for the caviar.' | |
| b. | kuyi-buk k'iwa illa-shka | QUECHUA |
| c. | No hay hierba para los cuyes | SPANISH |
| (24) a. | yo-ga awa -bi kay -mu -ni | MEDIA LENGUA |
| | I TO water LO fall CIS 1 | |
| | I come after falling into the water. | |
| b. | ñuka-ga yaku -bi urma-mu -ni | QUECHUA |
| c. | vengo despues de caer en el agua | SPANISH |

What we find in Media Lengua is a process, not so much of extensive borrowing, but of large-scale relexification: Quechua lexical roots have been replaced by Spanish ones. At the same time the Quechua affixes, clitics, and grammatical structure have remained intact. Relexification needs to be invoked if we want to account for the possible survival of West-African features in the Caribbean creoles.

What is important now for the problem of substrate influence raised before is what happens with morpho-syntactic categories in the process of relexification: we saw that the West-African morpho-syntactic categories have not survived in the Caribbean creoles. Interestingly enough the same holds for Media Lengua. I have argued this elsewhere in detail for the system of deictic elements (Muysken, 1988). A simple example is also the question word system of Media Lengua:

(25)	Quechua	Spanish	Media Lengua	
	pi	quién	kin	'who'
	ima	qué	ki/inki	'what'
	mayxan	cuál	kwal	'which'
	mashna	cuánto	kwantu	'how many'
		a cómo	a komo	'how much'
	ima uras	cuándo	kwandu	'when'
		qué horas	ki uras	'what time'
	ima-munda	por qué	purki	'why'
			(purki-munda)	
	ima-shna	cómo	'how'	'komo'
	may+case	(d)onde	undi+case	'where'

We can conclude from (25) that the Media Lengua forms do not derive directly from Quechua semantic equivalents. Neither do they immediately correspond to the Spanish system. I will now try to relate these findings to the question posed in the introduction of how we can have both transmittance of substratum features without actual phonological shapes surviving and at the same time restructuring of those features.

What Media Lengua shows at least is that there can be processes of relexification on a large scale within a speech community, and that the process of relexification only leads to partial maintenance of L1 structures. Consider the difference between the relexification of content words and of morpho-syntactic categories, i.e. function words. In the earlier case there is straightforward relexification, generally maintaining the Quechua semantic distinctions. In the latter case, there is drastic restructuring of the system. How can we explain this difference? Relexification can only take place under semantic resemblance. When the Quechua verb *riku-* 'see' is relexified as *bi-* (from Spanish *ver*), this is possible because there is a large shared element of meaning, established through reference to some extra-linguistic mental representation.

Now take function words. These do not *have* a meaning outside the linguistic system that they are part of, since their meanings are paradigmatically defined within that linguistic system. So when you relexify a system of function words, automatically the semantic organization of the target language comes in, and the result is at best a compromise between source and target language systems.

This conclusion is relevant to the substrate debate in creole studies as a whole. If the argument is correct, we must conclude that the only African features that could have been transmitted more or less intact through relexification are those dependent on properties of content words. This means: lexically determined semantic distinctions and sub-categorization features, but not syntactic properties related to function words. This consequence seems to me more or less on the right track, given the conflicting evidence for substratum so far. The strongest cases involve lexical properties of function words. Only content words can be relexified without restructuring, and hence grammatical elements of the source language never appear with their original properties.

Notice that serial verbs patterns, idioms, ideophones, and selectional properties all involve lexical characteristics of content words. The same is not obviously true for predicate clefts, as in (18) above: they would seem to represent a structural rather than a lexical feature of the Caribbean creoles. One possible way of arguing that predicate clefts are lexically determined is by assuming the fronted verbal element to be a nominalized infinitive. While this is not implausible, evidence so far has not been conclusive.

3. Other possible avenues of research

My proposal is to integrate creole studies within the general field of language contact research by trying to formulate general principles governing grammar contact, that is to say, interactive universals, on the basis of the study of contemporary situations of language contact and to then apply these universals to the interpretation of the creole evidence. I have illustrated this with recent results from the study of relexification processes, but other possibilities come to mind.

One area to consider is lexical borrowing. Much recent work confirms the idea that there are hierarchies of borrowability, perhaps along the lines of (26):

(26) N - A - V - P - Adv - Neg - Conj - Pron - COMP - ...

Some elements are borrowed more easily than others. Quite apart from the question to what extent these hierarchies are universal or specific to individual language pairs, and how these hierarchies are to be accounted for, we can apply insights in this area to the study of creole genesis. Can we describe this process in terms of borrowing into nascent structures, and what does this imply for the lexical categories we are likely to encounter?

A second area concerns accommodation of surface patterns. Silverstein (1972) has originally suggested that Chinook jargon emerged through surface compromises between Chinook and English. While this conclusion has been contested there is work by e.g. Kouwenberg (1991) on Berbice Dutch which suggests that such mechanisms may be operant. We may look at contemporary studies of foreigner talk and conversational accommodation to see what mechanisms regulate such accommodation and what constraints there are on such a process.

A third area, hitherto neglected, concerns phonological dimensions of language contact, and particularly the phonology of borrowing and second language acquisition. The way that phonological systems interact is possibly quite different from the way morpho-syntactic systems interact, and a more general and consistent study of such interactive processes may well give us insight into the way creole phonological systems emerged.

What I hope to have made plausible is that there is room for a fruitful research program on interactive universals, which can help link the study of pidgins and creoles to the more general study of grammar contact.

Note

* Much revised version of a paper presented at a workshop on universals (organized by R. Zuber) at the Université Paris 7, Jussieu, June 1990. I am grateful to comments from an anonymous reviewer.

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PAST-MARKING AND DECREOLIZATION IN URBAN JAMAICAN CREOLE*

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This paper analyzes past-marking patterns in mesolectal Jamaican Creole (JC) data in a quantitative variationist framework, focusing on the use of preverbal tense markers in the spontaneous conversation, interviews, and formal linguistic tests of ten speakers from Kingston, Jamaica's largest city. Following a description of their synchronic distribution, an avenue of recent diachronic variation and change is suggested which reconciles an apparent paradox between the speakers' declared attitudes and actual usages.

When a creole is in more or less close contact with a metropolitan, standard, or written version of its lexical source language (as is certainly true for JC and English in Jamaica), various processes of language contact and shift occur which are often collectively labeled 'decreolization'. Features of this prestige target language (e.g., metropolitan English) become integrated into the speech, and eventually into the grammar,¹ of the creole speakers, and features of the creole itself may decline in frequency or become lost; while new or hybrid forms may also emerge. The final result is "the transform[ation of] the creole.. into a dialect of the standard" (Whinnom 1971: 111).²

Viewed historically, decreolization certainly has taken place in Jamaica, and there is every reason to think that it is continuing now. Yet the synchronic profile of decreolization has rarely been examined within the empirical variationist paradigm that has proved so fruitful in other studies of linguistic change in progress. Instead, the usual approach to decreolization has been diachronic and speculative, taking an idealized form of the most basilectal speech currently available (or that can be attested) and projecting it backwards into the past as the language of a larger group of people than those who now use it.

With the latter method, the further in time the projection, the more serious are the questions of validity--- particularly considering the scarcity of textual data, and its

* An earlier version was delivered at the Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics annual meeting on January 10, 1992, in Philadelphia.

¹ The empirical variationist approach taken here differs from Chomskyan generative syntax, which insists on privileging "competence" and downplaying "performance". The present view, using another terminology, insists that *s_p_e_c_h* in its natural, social context is richer than *g_r_a_m_m_a_r*, and is a primary datum. In a language contact situation, elements do occur in people's speech which are not fully integrated into their grammars-- i.e., which are neither systematic and/or categorical, nor in so-called "free variation".

² Whinnom's paper, given at the 1968 Mona conference, contains the earliest definition I have found, though Stewart (1968) also uses 'decreolization'--but in a way that now seems unusual among creolists.

problematic relation to the rich variation evident in records of natural speech (cf. Rickford 1987, Ch. 3; Lalla & D'Costa 1990, Ch. 2). Accordingly, this investigation restricts its data to the latter, and its speculations to this century, grounding them in apparent-time generational differences visible within a synchronic sample. If the usual caveats about relating age-graded synchronic data to change in real-time are kept in mind (see, e.g., Labov 1981), these speculations may prove useful to the study of JC.

The data were gathered during 1989 and 1990 in Veeton, a pseudonymous mixed-class neighborhood of Kingston, from a sample of 60 people spanning at least three generations. The sub-sample used here consists of 14 hours of speech from 10 people, ranging in age from 14 to 82, whose social status can be described roughly as varying from middle-class, university-educated, homeownership professionals--- at one end of the socio-economic scale--- to workingclass residents of a depressed area locally known as a 'ghetto': for example, a domestic worker with 3 years of schooling. The ten speakers in the subsample were selected to represent the community's range of social positions as evenly as possible, taking into account the variables of speaker age, sex, social class, residence area, education and rural/urban orientation (see Patrick 1992, Chaps. 2 and 3, for further details).

The fieldworker (myself--a near-native speaker of JC and former Kingston resident) spoke only the 'patois', as JC is universally called by Jamaicans, in twelve months of recording a wide variety of speech events: sociolinguistic interviews, group sessions, youth-club meetings and sports events, children's folktales, songs and skits, spontaneous conversations over a meal, arguments among old friends, and formal elicitation events.

Certain cases of past-marking are excluded here (the copula, habituals, progressives, and completives) in order to focus on preterite verb-phrases, of which I extracted over 2,200 from 14 hours of tape. All were coded and analyzed for phonological factors (preceding and following segment); divided into ten morphological and morpho-lexical categories; examined for the effects of stativity, punctuality and anteriority; and investigated for correlation with the sex, social class, age, and individual identity of their speakers. However, given the restricted distribution of the pre-verbal markers examined here, most of these factors are not considered relevant at present.³

The standard account of Jamaican Creole past-marking is concerned with the basilect only: /ben/ + V is given as the canonical construction, where the verb is bare and uninflected. Examples of this are drawn from Beryl Bailey's (1966) grammar, and from my data. Bailey actually gives examples with /en/, a phonologically weakened form of /ben/:⁴

³ As a free pre-verbal morpheme of uniform shape, phonological and morphological factors appeared irrelevant to the appearance of Past /did/. The influences of anteriority and stativity, which were significant, receive a separate analysis in Patrick 1992, Ch. 6-7, which also contains further details of sampling, coding, and the complete results of this analysis. The interaction of phonological and morphological processes with verb-inflection is described in Patrick 1991.

⁴ Various lenited and reduced forms occur in the basilect: /ben, men, min, wen, en/ have all been attested. The phonological variation here is underexamined, but not germane to our present purposes.

- (1) Mi (b)en nuo se im wudn kom.

'I (Past) KNEW THAT HE WOULDN'T COME.'

(Bailey 1966: 46)

(2) is from a conversation I had with a 73-year-old former police detective, dubbed Macca. He is recounting a danger-of-death story, in which he and another man scouted out illegal ganja (marijuana) plots by night in an isolated rural district, and ends with this coda in which he reports saying to himself:

- (2) a se, "bot yu nuo, yu na baan fi ded. yu pik op yuself an ina klarendan bush a moont jiemz tuu chrii aklak a maanin---sapuoz man /ben/ get op an kyatch yu hin de"? ai wudav bin a ded man yu no, ai wud nat hav bin alaiv tudee...⁵

'I SAY, 'BUT YOU KNOW, YOU WEREN'T BORN TO (BE KILLED). YOU PICK UP YOURSELF & IN THE CLARENDON BUSH AT MT. JAMES 2, 3 O'CLOCK IN THE MORNING SUPPOSE A MAN (HAD) GOT UP & CAUGHT YOU IN THERE? I WOULD'VE BEEN A DEAD MAN YOU KNOW, I WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN ALIVE TODAY...'

[Macca, JC-U7A: 114-18]

The present examination is concerned with past-reference. One possible way of realizing this, in English and many other languages, is by the grammatical device of past-tense; others include adverbials, discourse framing devices such as narrative, and oddities such as the Historical Present. (For example, the conditional with /ben/ in (2) might be problematic with respect to tense, but is indubitably a case of past-reference.) The procedure adopted has been to collect and analyze cases of past-reference in order to see what the repertory of grammatical elements expressing it might be.

Another such construction is /did/ + Verb. This is commonly recognized as the mesolectal equivalent of the /ben/ + Verb construction. It has been argued for the very similar case of Guyanese Creole that /did/ simply "relexifies" /ben/ with the very same syntax and semantics--- it is just "slotted into place", according to Bickerton (1975: 70); and this was the working assumption for JC as well. There are cases of /did/ in past-reference clauses that must be excluded from consideration. One, occurring also in standard English, is that of 'Do'-support in its various manifestations, for example in (3):

- (3) yu mada, wat DID yu mada du?...

DO-SUPPORT

'YOUR MOTHER, WHAT DID YOUR MOTHER DO?...'

[Noel, JC-U55a: 310]

⁵ Labels in square brackets refer to the tape number and location of extracts. All speakers are referred to with pseudonyms. The extracts are transcribed in a phonological notation adapted from Cassidy and LePage 1967.

This construction, though evidently known to some of the speakers, proved to be extremely rare in their spontaneous speech. So was another, also standard-the case of main-verb 'Do' in past contexts (4-5):

- (4) a lat av piipl uu wen'tu inglan DID wel... MAIN-V DID
 'A LOT OF PEOPLE WHO WENT TO ENGLAND DID WELL...'
 [Matty, JC-U102a: 665]
- (5) dis man-ye woz a kriminal an, im DU aal dis ting MAIN-V DO
 'THIS MAN HERE WAS A CRIMINAL & HE DID ALL THESE THINGS'
 [Matty, JC-U102a: 075]

The creole use of /did/ as past-marker instead involves cases where /did/ precedes another verb in a past-reference clause, and that other verb is bare, uninflected as in (6-7):

- (6) if yu luk pan we ?itla DID DU ina j@rmani... PRE-V DID + MAIN-V DO
 'IF YOU LOOK AT WHAT HITLER _ DID IN GERMANY...'
 [Matty, JC-U102b: 070]
- (7) dee had an inglish stuor, wa di inglish stuor DID niem agen? PRE-V DID
 'THEY HAD AN ENGLISH STORE, WHAT (WAS) THE ENGLISH STORE
 NAMED AGAIN?'
 [Rose, JC-U10a: 590]

Note that this crucially differs from English emphatic 'Did', in (8), because the JC past-marker cannot be stressed; and indeed, this construction is not used to indicate emphasis in the Jamaican mesolect:

- (8) He DID do it, I know because I saw him. English EMPHATIC DID

Also commonly acknowledged as occurring in both basilectal and mesolectal JC are entirely bare verbs in past-reference clauses. In the case of irregular verbs, these have obviously just not been past-marked. In the case of regular verbs, the bare surface form may derive either from the absence of pastmarking, as with irregulars, or from the application of phonological deletion rules (discussed in Patrick 1991). Examples of both verb-types occur in (9):

- (9) di neks maanin, shi WEEK op an shi SCHRETCH
 'THE NEXT MORNING, SHE (WOKE) UP AND SHE STRETCH(ED)'
 [Opal, JC-U86a: 570]

This last type brings us to the inflection of past verbs, as in metropolitan Englishes. This is usually not considered part of JC, but it is obviously part of the behavior of Jamaican mesolectal speakers, who do it both for regular and irregular verbs. (Note that my data show a complete absence of hyper-correct inflected forms, either regular or irregular.) Example (10) shows two conjoined regular verbs, one inflected and one not; while in (11), two irregular verbs are both inflected:

- (10) ii barad mai koom an, woz- w- a aaks im far it bak
 'HE BORROW-ed MY COMB AND, WAS- W- I ASK(ed) HIM FOR IT BACK'
 [Bigga, JC-U40a: 345]
- (11) a went bak an fuort, spent ?ohldeez op yiyf
 'I WENT BACK AND FORTH, SPENT HOLIDAYS UP HERE'
 [Noel, JC-U55a: 080]

Now in a traditional account of the basilect, which wishes to describe only those aspects of Jamaican Creole that are least similar to English, it does little harm to call such inflected verbs elements of a structurally distinct grammar. But in an empirically driven approach, which wishes to describe the way urban Jamaicans actually speak, it would be wrong to assume from the outset that any appearance of inflected forms represents interference from a distinct system. This is a possible conclusion, but not an admissible assumption--- especially with mesolectal speakers who, by definition, occupy the middle ground between the basilect and acrolect, which both are much more susceptible to idealization.

The purpose here is to consider which of the above forms people actually use in my sample, how often, and how their choices or patterns correlate with other relevant facts about them. The creole continuum model assumes a general socioeconomic hierarchy, matched by a gradient scale of linguistic behavior. The former may be defined by a number of subjective or objective criteria, including the six mentioned above for the present study (age, sex, residence, social class, education, and rural/urban orientation). The latter is here constructed as a simple ranking by frequency for each linguistic variable (initially percentages, later adjusted by multivariate analysis, in Patrick 1992). In the community studied, the two scales matched very closely and there was very little change in ranking of speakers on the continuum when different linguistic variables-- phonological, phonological and morpho-syntactic-- were considered, broadly confirming DeCamp's original (1971) observation.

Besides the social distribution and meaning of the forms, we could also ask other questions such as, What does a choice of one or other way to express past time mean in linguistic terms? For example, does /did/ use have a different semantics or pragmatics from use of bare verbs, or use of /ben/? (Some analysts, e.g. Pollard (1989), have answered this in the affirmative while others, e.g. Roberts (1976), appear to collapse them). This analysis will provisionally assume it does not, and will ask instead what it means in broad

SOCIAL terms to choose one or the other available form, starting with the question of who uses which ones.

This brings up the question, (How) Is decreolization taking place for these speakers? Since no data is presented here from an earlier time, we will look instead at generational differences among speakers today, and ask whether certain forms are gained or lost, or shoved to the margins of the grammar. We can infer something about previous generations for at least one construction, however.

Given all that has been written about /ben/ in the JC basilect, it may be a surprise to hear that not a single unambiguous instance of past /ben/ + Verb occurred in the 2,222 clauses I coded. Note that I excluded cases of /ben/ + Locative as potentially ambiguous on the surface, as these converge with cases of English 'Been' after the deletion of auxiliary 'Have', as in (12):

- (12) bot wen im reach, Anansi ben de lang taim aredi
 'BUT WHEN HE ARRIVED, ANANSI (HAD) BEEN THERE (FOR A) LONG
 TIME ALREADY'
 [invented example]

Note also that the example given above in (2) did occur in spontaneous interview speech; but Macca was not one of the 10 speakers in the subsample. It is not claimed that /ben/ + V never occurs as a past marker, simply that unambiguously creole-derived cases are very rare in my spontaneous data. In fact they can be elicited from nearly anybody by asking them to tell you how country people talk (St. Elizabeth is the paradigm 'deep country' parlsh), or old people (by asking, e.g., 'how dem did talk firs time').

The language attitude surveys administered to everyone, after recording their spontaneous and interview data, did precisely that, and even the most acrolectal, young, and urban residents volunteered the /ben/ + V construction. Matty, a 49-year-old Kingstonian who graduated secondary school and trained in England as a photographer, claimed that where Kingstonians will make the past tense by using /did go/ or /dida go/, rural people in St. Mary say /wen de go/, and in St. Elizabeth they say /ben de go/. June, 19, raised in a middleclass Kingston minister's home, says this:

- (13) Som parts in jameeka, yu no, laik yu kan go tu'aal Sent Elizbet an, ai am a jameekan, rait? an yu se, yu go dier, yu do(n) andastan a wod dem se! y'no? [IV: Yeh?] Kaa, fi-dem patwa so faar oot, yu no, laik dem- de- iz laik a kompliit difren patwa, y'a se, "Waa?" an dem taak so faas. yu no? An dem wil se, "mi /ben de/ go dong de", an, yu nuo y'aa se, "A wa dem a se?" A(n) yuu taak patwa yuself! yu no, yu no'o miin? So iz laik d_i_f_r_e_n difren...
 'SOME PARTS IN JAMAICA, Y'KNOW, LIKE YOU CAN GO TO ST. ELIZABETH AND, I AM A JAMAICAN, RIGHT? & YOU SAY, YOU GO THERE, YOU DON'T UNDERSTAND A WORD THEY SAY! Y'KNOW? [IV] CAUSE, THEIR PATOIS IS SO FAR OUT, Y'KNOW LIKE THEY- IT'S LIKE A COMPLETE DIFFERENT PATOIS, YOU'RE SAYING 'WHAT?' AND THEY TALK SO FAST. Y'KNOW? & THEY WILL SAY, 'I (WENT) DOWN THERE', & YOU'RE SAYING, 'WHAT ARE THEY SAYING?' AND YOU TALK PATOIS YOURSELF! YOU KNOW HOW I MEAN? SO IT'S LIKE D_I F F E R E N T DIFFERENT..._ _ _ _ _'
 [June, JC-U89B: 205]

Although she represents this rural speech as "a complete different patois", she nevertheless uses the form easily, and moreover echoes Matty's version of who says what. In the following line, her "we" refers to Kingstonians:

- (14) Or laik, _wi_ wuda se, "Kom mek wi go dong de so", y'no? or, "Him /dida/ go dong de so", a Sent Elizbet posn wuda se, "Im /ben de/ go dong de", "Im /ben/ go dong de."
 'OR LIKE, _WE_ WOULD SAY, 'COME LET'S GO DOWN THERE', Y'KNOW? OR, 'HE (WENT) DOWN THERE', A ST. ELIZABETH PERSON WOULD HAVE SAID, 'HE (WENT) DOWN THERE', 'HE (WENT) DOWN THERE.'
 [June, JC-U89B: 220]

At first glance, this account does not seem problematic: urban speakers do not use /ben/ + V except for the very oldest, perhaps in the most favoring circumstances (e.g., in personal narrative, on rural topics, in quoted speech, etc.; and/or, as Pollard's (1989) discourse account has it, with background information); and everyone subjectively identifies it as rural and oldfashioned. From previous reports on Jamaican, we can believe that this is a case of decreolization: that urban speakers must have used /ben/ in earlier times, and that rural areas are more conservative even today.

What do urban speakers use if not /ben/? Do they use /did/? We saw that several speakers volunteered it as the urban equivalent, and creolists have elsewhere called it the mesolectal equivalent. (In the accounts mentioned above, and generally, there is no suggestion by speakers of any difference in linguistic meaning.) Let us consider people's actual patterns of use:

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SPEAKER	AGE	SEX	/ben/+V	/did/+V	bare V		inflected V		TOTAL
Roxy	14	F	none	none	9	11%	76	89%	85
Rose	82	F	none	2 1%	96	28%	244	71%	342
Noel	18	M	none	none	29	33%	59	67%	88
Olive	24	F	none	1 1%	57	38%	91	61%	149
Matty	49	M	none	41 10%	229	55%	145	35%	415
Opal	17	F	none	none	146	68%	68	32%	214
Bigga	18	M	none	2 1%	117	84%	21	15%	140
Tamas	70	M	none	19 6%	243	81%	39	13%	301
Mina	75	F	none	20 8%	224	86%	16	6%	260
Dinah	46	F	none	16 7%	201	88%	11	5%	228

			0	101 5%	1,351	61%	770	35%	2,222

Table 1: JC Mesolectal Speakers' Use of Past-Markers (Interview)

Table 1 refers only to spontaneous and interview speech and excludes formal test data; it is based on between 45 minutes and 2 hours of tape per speaker. The table is ordered according to strictly linguistic criteria (overall frequency of past-marking) so that the most acrolectal speaker is at the top--- in fact Roxy, daughter of a dentist and head-teacher, is borderline and could arguably be treated as an acrolectal speaker in several respects--while the most basilectal is at the bottom: Dinah, the domestic worker mentioned earlier, is arguably a basilectal speaker. All the others are certainly mesolectal.⁶

This table makes several things clear. First, the overwhelming majority of past-reference clauses for these mesolectal speakers alternate between bare and inflected verbs: over 95%, in fact. This preponderance--- taken together with the frequent occurrence of many unarguably creole features of phonology, morphology, syntax and lexis--- makes it quite impossible to analyze the variation in what Bickerton calls "the simplistic model of two dialects with random switching and mixing that held sway in the 1950's" (foreword to Rickford 1987: xvii).⁷

⁶ Other features used to rank these speakers on the linguistic continuum, which give nearly identical results, include consonant-cluster simplification, palatalization of velar stops before low vowels, initial /#h/-deletion and intrusion, and plural-marking. Note that it would be a mistake to depend on the "acro-" or "basi-lectalness" of speakers to explain the strong correlation of such linguistic measures with the social scale-- these terms merely express such a correlation, they do not constitute an explanation.

⁷ An anonymous reviewer suggested that narrative context might influence use of bare forms. This was explored in detail in Patrick (1992, Chap. 7), and is currently under further investigation. The results reconcile Bickerton's (1975) Anteriority analysis of Guyanese Creole, which is quite parallel with JC, with Givon's (1979) pragmatic interpretation, which Pollard (1989) also draws on. Both theories, however, must be adjusted to take into account the reality of variation in the mesolect.

Second, people vary greatly in their use of /did/, but a close look shows a clear pattern. None of the five speakers under 45 years old use it more than once or twice; but of the five older speakers, four of them use it for between 6% and 10% of all their past clauses. (The exception--- Rose, formerly headnurse at Kingston Public Hospital--- is the highest on the social scale of all the older speakers, which accords with her low rate.)

These age-graded data (if they represent a trend in real-time) suggest that past-marking with /did/ may be rapidly disappearing from the everyday speech of urban Jamaicans, perhaps following the lead of /ben/ to become a form known to all, but marginal to the production of most. This pattern for /did/ is not strongly associated here with sex of speaker (two users are male, two female), and only weakly with social class, insofar as the most nearly acrolectal speakers almost never use it. It seems to be, instead, primarily a generational difference.⁸

Let us consider next the effect of the urban/rural dimension which is said to be important for /ben/. Rather surprisingly, in light of the speakers' comments above strongly associating /did/ with urban values, 3 of the 4 heavy /did/-users here were born and raised in rural areas, and 2 of them (Tamas and Mina) have spent most of their lives in the country and still identify themselves as rurally-oriented today. On the other hand Matty, the heaviest user of all, is proud of having been 'born under the clock' (as native Kingstonians describe themselves), and has lived all his life in the urban area. It is difficult to square these data with the reports of /did/ as the urban variant: the speakers' social evaluations of the form clearly do not match its actual distribution.

Change over time--- decreolization--- must be considered to make sense of this apparent paradox. As with any linguistic form that has an explicit social evaluation attached to it, one can separate the linguistic pattern from the evaluation; it seems reasonable to suggest that both change, but at different rates. The quantitative distribution of linguistic forms, as opposed to their qualitative existence in speakers' repertoires, is generally not accurately and explicitly perceived by members of a speech community, as studies from Labov (1966) on have shown.

Thus a quantitative shift, in which a form like /did/ becomes less common but remains part of every speaker's competence, is liable to take place without initially exciting notice or disturbing the form's social evaluation. The rural/urban social dimension continues to be

⁸ Patrick (1992) separated the four heavy users of /did/ from those who used it only once, twice, or not at all, and performed a percentage analysis; but there were too few data for a separate multivariate analysis of these four. Extensive quantitative analysis of all ten speakers for Past-marking as a 3way alternation (/did/ vs. inflection vs. zero) and a 2-way one (inflection vs. zero) is reported there, in Chaps. 6 and 7; arguments for relating these analyses are given in full. Naturally, as there were no conversational tokens of /ben/, it is not examined.

The same anonymous reviewer questioned whether age of speaker is relevant to the 2-way alternation. Regression analysis with Varbrul-2S finds a correlation significant at $p < .05$, with speakers under 30 years favoring past-marking at a probability of 0.75 compared to only 0.36 for older ones above 45 years ($n = 1,871$; chi-squared per cell = 1.40). This effect of age is second only to that of social class, in fact, and both are more powerful than any internal linguistic factor in accounting for the variation.

an important part of Jamaican life; as such changes go to completion in the linguistic sphere (Past /ben/ + V, for example), their relation to this dimension will be reanalyzed.

Thus, at an earlier point in time (Stage I) it seems likely that /ben/ was also a frequently-used past-marker in Kingston alongside /did/, and the social differentiation of the two may have been, for example, almost entirely class-based. Table 2 suggests this co-existence of the two creole pre-verbal Past markers. One might also ask to what extent use of verb-inflection characterized urban speech at that time; presumably less than today, but even that is only a reasonable guess. Naturally, zero-marked verbs must have occurred too, at all stages. ('Infl' refers to inflection of past verbs, while the '>' sign for 'greater-than' represents a rough quantitative hypothesis: in the case of Stage I, e.g., that inflection was less common than use of preverbal markers.)⁹

Stage	Urban Usage	Rural Usage
I	BEN, DID (> Infl?)	BEN (> DID?)
II	DID, Infl > BEN	BEN > DID (> Infl?)
III	(now) Infl > DID	DID (> Infl?) > BEN
IV	(future) Infl only?	Infl > DID (> BEN?)

Table 2: Possible Stages in Use of JC Overt Past-markers

Later, perhaps around the turn of the 20th century--- since the evidence of my oldest speakers does not go back before this time, and is consistent with Stage II--- the progressive loss of /ben/ and the conservative role of rural areas may have caused /ben/ to be seen as a characteristically rural past-marker while /did/ was thought of as typically urban. At that point, such a perception might have been relatively accurate, if one allows for the variable hierarchy of Table 2, Stage II to be perceived by speakers as a categorical relation.

The stereotypes and evaluations of today still fit this stage, while linguistic change has quietly proceeded to Stage III in the city, with the effective loss of /ben/ in everyday speech. At the next step, Stage IV, /did/ may cease to be perceived by Jamaicans as a marker of urban speech (perhaps it will be retained in rural areas like /ben/, though differentiated by some other salient social factor), while verb inflection on the metropolitan English model may come to characterize urban behavior.

⁹ Only Stage III of the Urban Usage column in Table 2 is attested in the data at hand; all other stages, especially the Rural Usage column, are proposed as speculative hypotheses. Earlier recordings, such as those made in the 1950s by DeCamp and Cassidy, may still be investigated for Stage II however, while early texts and folklore may bear on Stage I, and the others are open for future fieldwork.

Linguistic behavioral changes of a quantitative sort will continue to outstrip speaker norms, which are almost always phrased in qualitative terms ("they say X but we say Y"), thus producing apparent conflicts of the sort sketched above between unconscious patterns of usage and conscious patterns of social evaluation. Such conflicts, as William Labov showed in his New York City study (1966, Chap. XII) are not the result of deception, nor are they paradoxical. Rather, they serve to illuminate the complex role of language attitudes in motivating variation and change--- and perhaps decreolization--in a creole speech community.

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On the Diachrony of Creole Complementizers: the development of Sranan *taki* and *dati*

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1. Introduction

In English-based creole languages the use of a verb (originally) meaning 'say' as a complementiser is a frequent and well-documented phenomenon. Sranan *taki* (< English talk) is a case in point. Although often discussed, the - probably most interesting - question of how this category change from verb to complementiser comes about has not received much attention.

In an earlier study on the synchronic variation in the use of *taki* (Plag (in press)), it was proposed that this variation can be accounted for by a continuum of grammaticalisation, which shows the gradual erosion of the original verbal syntactic and semantic properties of *taki* in the process of category change from verb to complementiser. The present study will try to answer the question whether this continuum is indeed a reflection of diachronic change, as hypothesised in Plag (in press). In addition, we will look at the emergence of complementiser *dati* (probably from English *that*, or Dutch *dat*), which we find alongside with *taki* as a complementiser in modern Sranan. We will analyse Sranan sources dating from the middle of the 18th century to the early 20th century with respect to the following questions: When in the history of Sranan did new types of constructions emerge? What are the possible reasons responsible for the observed changes?

The paper is organised in the following way. Section 2 will briefly deal with the grammaticalisation continuum of *taki*, in section 3 the sources which the data were taken from are introduced and discussed. This is followed by a detailed analysis of the relevant sentences found in the data (sections 4 and 5). The conclusion discusses the implications of the findings for current debates in creole studies, i.e. the 'substrate vs universals' controversy and the issue of 'gradual creolisation'.

2. The grammaticalisation continuum of *taki*

The grammaticalisation continuum of *taki* can be described as follows (cf. Plag (in press) for detailed discussion). At the first stage, *taki* is only used as the general speech act verb (gSAV) 'say'. At stage 2 *taki* is inserted between a SAV and its complement clause (CC), involving subject copying, as in (1a), and without subject copying, as in (1b). At the next stages *taki* is used after cognitive verbs, (1c), after perception verbs (1d), and finally *taki*

functions as complementiser of subject clauses and noun CCs (1e) and (1f), as well as other types of subordinate clauses, e.g. consecutive clauses as in (1g):

- (1) a. Na Papa piki hem, a taki "Luku, sowan bigi gro mi habi."
'The Papa answered her, he said "Look, I have so large a field."
(Herskovits and Herskovits 1936:232/233)
- b. Dan a de bari taki, "Suma no 'abi madunga mek'a kom teki"
'Then he cried out and said, "He who has no madungu let him come and take."
(Herskovits and Herskovits 1936:228/229)
- c. A no ben sab' taki na wan bigi Anansi.
'He did not know that this was a grown up Anansi.'
(Herskovits and Herskovits 1936:230/231)
- d. Anansi si taki tok te a bori, a mu gi eng uma.
'Anansi saw that when he cooked he must give (something) to his wife.'
(Herskovits and Herskovits 1936:226/227)
- e. Taki Kofi no kiri Amba meki wi breyti.
'That Kofi didn't kill Amba made us happy.'
- f. A don, law bribi di den habi taki ...
'The stupid, mad belief they have that ...'
- g. Den de so don taki yu musu ...
'They are so dumb that you have to ...'
(from Sebba 1987:79).

The grammaticalisation continuum is summarised in (2):

- (2) Grammaticalisation continuum of taki
 1. gSAV
 2. insertion of taki between SAV and CC:
 - a. involving subject copying (quotative verb)
 - b. without subject copying (complementiser)
 3. insertion of taki after CogVs (complementiser)
 4. insertion of taki after perception verbs (complementiser)
 5. conjunction of other types of subordinate Ss, including final and consecutive adverbial clauses, as well as subject clauses and noun CCs (conjunction/complementiser)

Having sketched the different constructions involving taki as a marker of CCs from a synchronic point of view we can now turn to the analysis of earlier stages of Sranan.

3. *The data*

3.1. *Introduction*

For my diachronic analysis I have used sources from the mid 18th century up to the 20th century. The earliest known Sranan text, the Herlein Fragment dating from 1718, is very short and does not contain complex sentences of the type dealt with here. The following sources were used for this study (with the approximate date of their formation given in parentheses):

Van Dyk (1740)
 Schumann (1781)
 Schumann (1783)
 Grammatik (1854)
 Focke (1855)
 Wullschlaegel (1856)
 King (1865 and 1893)
 Kraag (1894-96)
 Herskovits and Herskovits (1936)

As correctly noted by Arends (1989:10), "there is no absolute measure available as to what constitutes a reliable data-base" for a linguistic investigation. Especially diachronic studies often suffer from the scarcity of available sources, i.e. a possibly defective corpus. Before dealing with the data in detail I will first address myself to this important methodological problem.

The question of reliable data is twofold, it is one of quantity and one of quality.

3.2. *The quantity problem*

In order to be able to make generalisations about certain syntactic structures of a language at a certain point in time it is evident that one needs a large enough corpus. The notorious problem however is, when is the case? Sometimes this problem is best solved after one's investigation. Thus Arends (1989:10) e.g. comes to the conclusion that the corpus for his investigation of the diachronic development of the Sranan copula could have been half the size and still would have yielded the same results. Unfortunately, this argument will not be applicable to this study. The problem with the taki constructions in particular is that, in order to prove the hypothesis that complementiser taki did not exist, say, before 1850, one has to show that it does not occur in the corpus before 1850. Any critic of this hypothesis is therefore always in the comfortable position to be able to argue that a larger corpus would possibly have produced the required counterexamples.

To minimize the danger of being presented with such counterexamples I have used any source I could get hold of, which in the end made up a corpus of probably some hundred thousand words, a corpus that seems large enough to allow for generalisations. It must be

admitted though, that for some periods the data base is comparatively small, and further research still necessary.

The majority of the source texts served in their entirety as the basis for my investigation; reasonably-sized samples were only picked from Schumann's Bible translation and Herskovits and Herskovits (1936), which seemed justified on the grounds that in the samples we find a large number of relevant constructions.

3.3. *The quality problem*

Sranan is one of the few rare cases of a creole language, where we find a relatively high number of sources of early stages of the language.¹ The problem with most of these sources however is that many of them - in particular the ones dating from before the end of the 19th century - are not written by native speakers of Sranan, and thus might be regarded as sources of minor quality not reflecting the language as spoken by the blacks.

In the late 18th century (or even earlier), there existed two major varieties of Sranan, which are known as bakratongo 'white man's tongue' and nengretongo 'negro tongue'.² Roughly speaking, Bakratongo is, as one would expect, heavily influenced by Dutch vocabulary (and syntax?), whereas Nengretongo very often retains syntactic constructions alien to Dutch or English, and relies on creole vocabulary. Since we are concerned with Nengretongo in this study it is essential that the constructions found in the corpus reflect this variety.

The early authors seemed to be quite aware of the problem of varieties. Schumann, e.g., used native speaker informants who were able to indicate the differences between the several varieties existing at the time, and who provided a considerable amount of the sample sentences. His dictionary contains many items like the following where the native speaker informant comments on the form geel "da Bakkratongo; ningre takki 'redi'" ('this is Bakratongo; negroes say "redi"') (Kramp 1983:108, my translation). In what follows I will give a short description of each source and comment on its quality as a linguistic corpus before I start with the analysis of the data.

3.4. *The sources*

3.4.1. *Mid 18th century: Van Dyk (1740)*

This is a language manual consisting of a collection of sample sentences, word lists, and a description of the life on a coffee plantation. The date of this work cannot be discerned exactly, 1740 is mentioned as the earliest, 1770 as the latest possible date (cf. the discussion in Arends (1989:11f, Note 8;13)).³ Van Dyk's work is thus the oldest substantial Sranan text and the oldest Creole grammar to exist.

3.4.2. Late 18th century: Schumann (1781 and 1783)

Schumann's manuscript Bible translation of 1781 is the oldest translation of the New Testament into Sranan. His manuscript dictionary *Neger-Englisches Wörter-Buch*, finished only two years later is now available in print through Kramp's *Early Creole Lexicography* of 1983.⁴

As already mentioned above, while working on his dictionary Schumann made extensive use of native speakers, which increases the reliability of the data. The native speaker comments are easily discernible because they are always given in Sranan, whereas Schumann's comments are given in his mother tongue, i.e. German. That the informants were indeed speakers of Nengretongo becomes clear in entries like the following where the informants not only judge morse as Bakratongo, and pori and dotti as Nengretongo, but also introduce examples with pori and dotti by saying wi takki: 'we say':

morse

...
(da Bakkra tongo; Ningre takki: "dotti" nanga: "pori")

...
- da somma morse alla moni en gudu va hem;

wi takki: a pori, a trueh alla hem gudu

... wi takki: a dotti

('this is Bakratongo; negroes say: "dotti" and "pori"... - this person wasted all his/her money and goods; we say: a pori, a trueh alla hem gudu ... we say: a dotti')

(Kramp 1983:196, translation and italics mine)

Schumann himself was also well aware of the differences between Bakra- and Nengretongo. We find comments like the following:

pikkado

Sünde /: die neger verstehen darunter nur einige der aller grössten Sünden, als Ehebruch, Mord, Giftmischen, Wir brauchen aber dieses Word allgemein; u. verstehen darunter alle Sünden:/

('sin /: the negroes use this word only for the biggest sins such as adultery, murder, poisoning. We, however, use this word in a general sense, for all sins:/')

(Kramp 1983:222, translation mine, italics in the original)

Having spent three years in Surinam before he started his dictionary of Sranan (Kramp 1983:11), Schumann's knowledge of the language is excellent, as is illustrated by his comments on subtle syntactic and semantic problems (cf. also Kramp 1983:13-18). Arends (1989:13) comments on Schumann, "like most Moravians, [he] is known for his accuracy and linguistic sophistication".⁵

On the whole I can agree with Kramp (1983:3), Arends (1989:19), and Bruyn (1989:5) that Schumann's dictionary is a very reliable and useful source for a linguistic analysis of the language as spoken in this period. The same holds for the Bible translation.

3.4.3. Mid 19th century: *Grammatik* (1854), *Focke* (1855), and *Wullschlaegel* (1856)

The anonymous *Kurzgefasste Neger-Englische Grammatik* appeared in Bautzen in 1854, and is generally believed to be written by Wullschlaegel (cf. e.g. Schuchardt (1914:xiv), Focke (1855:ix), and Voorhoeve (1957:183), but also Voorhoeve/Donicie (1963:20) for a different view). It is a short but "adequate" (Arends 1989:15) introduction into the grammar of Sranan.

Wullschlaegel's *Deutsch-Negerenglisches Wörterbuch* is the largest available dictionary of Sranan, containing also some 700 proverbs in the appendix. However, it has to be viewed in a critical light. It contains a lot of neologisms invented by the Moravians for the purposes of their missionary work. Wullschlaegel does not seem to be much aware of the different varieties of Sranan and therefore includes archaic and pulpit language without comments (cf. also Arends (1989:16) on this point). Wullschlaegel also contains an entry for *Negersprache* 'Negro language, Nengretongo', where he says that the African negroes call the local language, i.e. Nengretongo, also *Bakra(tongo)*: "*Negersprache, ningretongo; (doch nennen die afrikanischen Neger die hiesige Sprache auch bakra)*" (Wullschlaegel 1856:214). This is a clear indication that Wullschlaegel does not realise the difference between Nengre- and Bakratongo. It is also possible to infer from this entry that his dictionary represents even another variety, i.e. Church Sranan. This idea is supported by the fact that it is a German-Sranan dictionary aimed at the translation (i.e. transmission) of missionary ideas from German into Sranan, and not (as Schumann's Sranan-German dictionary) aimed at an understanding of Creole words and ideas by the missionaries. From all this we should conclude that data from Wullschlaegel's dictionary should be handled with some care.

Focke, published one year earlier, is an excellent Sranan-Dutch dictionary written by a creole who was presumably a native speaker of Sranan (Arends 1989:16). It is free of any pulpit language, and also contains valuable grammatical information as well as a short introduction into the language. Focke should therefore be viewed as a highly reliable source.

3.4.4. Late 19th century: *King* (1865 and 1893), and *Kraag* (1894-96)

Johannes King is the first true native Sranan author (Arends 1989:16) and therefore of great importance.⁶ For the present study I have used 65 pages from a 1973 edition (by De Ziel) of some of his works, *Life in Maripaston*. This book has the advantage - though written between 1891 and 1894 - to contain texts from two distinct periods, namely an old travel account dating back from 1865 (pp. 76-109), and an account of the difficulties between King and his brother, together with some letters and a diary fragment written in the early 1890s (pp. 109-142). This allows for a comparison of the language as used by King at two different points in time with some 30 years in between.

Kraag (1894-96) is a short diary fragment (13 pages in Beet and Stermann (1980)) from a missionary-teacher who was probably a native speaker of Sranan (cf. Arends 1989:17). In spite of being rather short it contains some 40 sentences with the construction(s) under discussion.

3.4.5. *Early 20th century: Herskovits and Herskovits (1936)*

This is a huge collection of stories, riddles, songs and proverbs, recorded in the late 1920s, presented in phonetic transcription. For the purposes of this diachronic investigation I have used 55 tales (pp. 150-245), told by 9 different informants.⁷

Although Arends claims that the stories are told by native speakers this does not seem to be entirely clear for all informants. One of the informants is said to be "of Javanese descent" (Herskovits and Herskovits 1936:115) which could be interpreted in such a way that he may not have been a native speaker. In fact, this speaker's Sranan differs significantly from that of other informants.⁸

Even if we agree with Voorhoeve/Donicie (1963:91) that these data should be examined critically, their value is "still immeasurable" (Arends 1989:18).

4. *The analysis*

In my analysis I have concentrated on the different uses of *taki* outlined in section 2. Special attention was paid to the following questions:

- which kinds of verbs take *taki* as complementiser?
- what types of subordinate sentences are introduced by *taki* (e.g. object CCs, subject clauses, noun CCs, adverbial clauses)?
- when did complementiser *dati* appear?

Sample sentences are usually presented in their original spelling and punctuation, unless otherwise specified.⁹ The German and Dutch translations given in some of the sources have been translated into English by the author of the present study.¹⁰ If a source gave a translation into English (like e.g. Herskovits and Herskovits 1936) I adopted this translation.

4.1. *Mid 18th century: Van Dyk*

In this work we only find *taki* as a verb, not as a complementiser. CCs are attached asyndetically, as exemplified in (3):

DIACHRONY OF CREOLE COMPLEMENTIZERS

- (3) a. takki na human den locke bon na hosse
'Tell the women, they should look well after the house'
(van Dyk ?1740:55)
- b. mi zweri mi brokke joe hedde
'I swear, I'll break your head'
(van Dyk ?1740:66)
- c. no sabi tien a vyfi negere go na bossi
'Didn't you know, ten to fifty negroes went into the bush?'
(van Dyk ?1740:66f)
- d. hem wandi mi fom da negere zo menni
'He wanted, I hit the negro so much'
(van Dyk ?1740:75)

There is one CC introduced by dat:

- (4) de negere fo pranasi den zel takki na da gran mastra dat wi alle de da tem joe zoete da negeri didde.
'The negroes of the plantation, they will tell the master that we were all there when you shot the negro dead'
(van Dyk ?1740:81)

This sentence, being uttered by a Dutch overseer, seems to be a case of outright transfer from Dutch. (Note also the use of the Dutch article *de* instead of *Sranan den*). *Dat* is the obligatory Dutch complementiser and does not occur in the rest of van Dyk's manual. As we will see below, *dati* as complementiser only emerges about a hundred years later.

In Van Dyk we do not find subject copying constructions with *taki*.

4.2. Late 18th century: Schumann

4.2.1. Schumann's Bible translation (1781:4-51)

Of the 158 relevant constructions in the sample 127 are characterised by the asyndetic juxtaposition of the CC. Clauses involving the gSAV *taki* as the matrix verb are always constructed in that way. With other SAVs like *pikki* 'answer', *haksi* 'ask', *begi* 'beg', and *kali* 'call', we find structures according to stage 2 in (2), cf. (5):

- (5) a. Kaba dem haksi hem morro, dem takki: ma va hu heddi ju de gi doop, di ju no de Christus, no Elias, no da Santa Prophet??
Then they asked him again, they said: but why are you baptising, as you are not the Christ, not Elias, and not the Holy Prophet?
(Schumann 1871:12)

- b. Dem haksi, takki: Na hupeh da pikin, da nju Koning va Dju?
They asked, said: Where is the child, the new King of the Jews?¹¹
(Schumann 1871:19)

We also find a type of structure that did not occur in the corpus used in Plag (to appear):

- (6) a. Zacharias pikki, takki na Engel: Hufa mi sa sabi dati?
Zacharias answered, said to the angel: How shall I know that?
(Schumann 1871:12)
- b. Kaba hem pikki, takki gi dem: va hu heddi une ben suku mi?
Then he answered, said to them: why did you look for me?
(Schumann 1871:25)

In such constructions, which occurred 16 times, *taki* has no subject copy, but shares its object with the (other) matrix verb. This fact suggests a syntactic analysis where *taki* is asyndetically coordinated with the first SAV of the sentence, with ellipsis of the subject. Although used to mark the following CC, *taki* in such structures behaves exactly like the gSAV (it subcategorises two objects, one of the objects representing spoken discourse). These findings suggest that a structure involving object sharing may also be representative of stage 2a.

There are 10 sentences involving CCs of cognitive and perception verbs. In neither of them *taki* occurs. Combining the evidence provided by Van Dyk's manual with the one found in Schumann's Bible translation we can conclude that in the 18th century the grammaticalisation of *taki* as complementiser was still in a very early stage. Schumann's punctuation - he always uses a colon to separate the two clauses - suggests that even in cases like (5b) *taki* is not yet fully integrated into the CC. We may therefore claim that at stage 2b *taki* is still not completely grammaticalised as complementiser. Our diachronic findings thus suggest a slight modification of the proposed grammaticalisation continuum (cf. section below for further discussion).

4.2.2. *Schumann's dictionary*

Schumann's dictionary only contains one entry for *taki*, in which *taki* is presented as a verb, or as a noun, but not as a conjunction:

- (7) a. Da takki va ju no waka reti.
'Your words are not right.'
- b. A takki gi mi
'He said to me'
(Kramp 1983:264)

CCs are generally not marked at all, cf. the following examples:

- (8) a. Te dem si, dem hoson bron, dem pulu dem sani.
'When they saw, their house burned, they removed their things.'
(Kramp 1983:81)
- b. A membre, hem de wan biggi sanni.
'He thinks, he is a great one.'
(Kramp 1983:130)
- c. A takki, mi kom?
'Does he say, I shall come?'
(Kramp 1983:289)
- d. Ju no si, mi lobbi ju?
'Don't you see, I love you?'
(Kramp 1983:289)
- e. A takki, mi no lobbi hem.
'He says, I don't love him.'
(Kramp 1983:289)
- f. A wanni mi du so.
'He wants, I do it this way.'
(Kramp 1983:289)
- g. Mi bribi a sa ben komm.
'I think, he will have come.'
(Kramp 1983:60)

Sentences involving subject copying do not occur in the dictionary. On the basis of the dictionary alone it could be argued that this is because subject copying did still not exist in Sranan, but Schumann's Bible translation tells a different story. The absence of this construction from the dictionary may be explained along the following lines: subject copying is a rather simplex structure (easy to process, easy to understand), which is widely used in the world's languages, especially in spoken discourse within a narrative context (cf. Plag (in press) for discussion). This context is lacking in the dictionary, and it does therefore not come as a surprise that subject copying constructions do not show up in the sample sentences.

There is only one sentence in the whole dictionary where taki is in a position where it could be interpreted as a complementiser:

- (9) Wan libisomma membre, takki, hem kann helpi hem srefi, a kori hem srefi.
'Someone who thinks that he can help himself, he is mistaken'
(Kramp 1983:130)

There are two things remarkable concerning this sentence. In Kramp's edition the sentence is marked by an asterisk indicating that it was added later by Schumann (cf. Kramp

1983:43). The other thing is that Schumann does not give a translation into German. One can only speculate about the reasons. Maybe Schumann was not sure himself about the status of *taki* in such constructions and therefore avoided the translation. He might also simply have forgotten to translate it, or he did not translate it because the meaning is obvious. Sometimes this seems to be his policy in the few cases where he does not give translations of his sample sentences (cf. e.g. the entry for *smoko*, p. 250).

No matter what possible explanation one would opt for, it seems reasonable to say that sentences like (9) represent rather marginal constructions. This conclusion is supported mainly by two facts.

First of all, Schumann often includes grammatical information in his dictionary, and he is widely recognised as a good linguist. However, he does not give this kind of information on *taki*, nor does he mention, or include as a separate entry, *taki* as a complementiser/conjunction.

More important is the fact that there is only one example like (9), whereas in all other sentences *taki* does not occur as a marker of complement clauses.

Dati as complementiser does not appear at all, it is only used as a demonstrative pronoun or as a deictic determiner (cf. Bruyn 1989:31ff).

Purpose or consecutive clauses are only introduced by *vo/va* as in the following examples:

- (10) A du datti va mi lobbi hem.
'He did that in order that I love him.'
(Kramp 1983:289)

To summarise the findings from our analysis of Schumann's dictionary of 1783 we can say that there is strong evidence against *taki* as an established complementiser. The data from the dictionary, as well as from the other two 18th century sources suggest that in the 18th century Sranan seems to be still in an early stage of the grammaticalisation continuum presented above.

4.3. Mid 19th century: Focke, Wullschlaegel and Grammatik

By the 1850s the situation has changed considerably. In all three sources we find numerous clear examples of *taki* as complementiser. Let us look at the findings in detail.

4.3.1. Grammatik (1854)

In the majority of sentences with CCs the complement is not marked (cf. (11)), or we encounter subject copying constructions, as in (12):

DIACHRONY OF CREOLE COMPLEMENTIZERS

- (11) a. A taki, a no troe.
'He said, it was not true'
(Grammatik 1854:66)
- b. Mi no kan taki, a dringi tee vo droengoe
'I cannot say, he drank until he was drunk'
(Grammatik 1854:44)
- c. Mi hoopoe, joe de boen.
'I hope, you are fine.'
(Grammatik 1854:66)
- d. Mi sabi, a no ha plisiri vo leri.
'I know, he does not like studying'
(Grammatik 1854:66)
- (12) a. A piki mi, a taki, a no kan kom.
'He said, he could not come'
(Grammatik 1854:66)
- b. A taki moro fara, a taki: ...
'He also said, he says: ...'
(Grammatik 1854:64)
- c. Toen dem disciple piki hem, dem taki ...
'Then the disciples answered him, they said ...'
(Grammatik 1854:62)

We also find taki in complementiser position with speech act verbs (like taki gi, cf. (13c) and (13d)) and cognitive verbs (e.g. denki and sabi, cf. (13a) and (13b)):

- (13) a. Dem ben denki, taki, mi no sa wani.
'They thought that I would not want to'
(Grammatik 1854:42)
- b. Mi sabi, taki joe no lobi va leri.
'I know that you do not like studying.'
(Grammatik 1854:66)
- c. Masra N. taki gi mi, taki a no sa go na pranasi moro.
'Master N. said to me that he would not go to the plantation again'
(Grammatik 1854:66)
- d. Tidei da soema kom loekoe mi, disi dem ben taki vo hem, taki, a dede.
'Today the man visited me, of whom they had said that he was dead.'
(Grammatik 1854:26)

Complementiser dati is mentioned as an alternative to taki; we find however the remark that it is hardly ever used: "[wird] nicht gerade oft gebraucht" (Grammatik 1854:65).

Purpose and consecutive clauses are not possible with taki, Subject CCs do not occur.

There is one CC which may be interpreted as a noun CC:

- (14) A seni wan boodskapoe gi mi, taki tamara hem sa kom loekoe mi.
'He sent a message to me that tomorrow he will visit me.'
(Grammatik 1854:66)

If we consider a sentence like (14) without indirect object we could claim that the string [VP[VNP][CS]] was probably reanalysed as [VPV[NPNP[CS]]]. In other words, the complement clause was no longer regarded as a complement to a predicate seni (wan) boodskapoe but rather as a complement to the noun boodskapoe. This possible reanalysis may have been fostered by the semantics of boodskapoe and taki, in that 'message' can be regarded as a manifestation of a speech act. However, we do not have independent evidence that seni boodskapoe may not be a complex predicate. A clear case, e.g. with boodskapoe in subject position is not in this corpus. The question whether we already have noun CCs introduced by taki can thus not be solved on the basis of this ambiguous example.

4.3.2. Focke (1855)

In Focke's dictionary we find two separate entries for taki, one for the content word, i.e. verb and noun, the other for the conjunction taki (cf. Focke 1855:130). Dati on the other hand is only mentioned as pronoun (Focke 1855:20). Complementiser taki occurs (optionally) with the cognitive verbs denki, memre, and sabi:

- (15) a. Mi denki, taki ...
'I think that ...'
(Focke 1855:21)
b. Joe membre taki mi no si joe?
'Do you think that I did not see you?'
(Focke 1855:130)
c. Mi no ben sa', taki ji de dape.
'I did not know that you were there.'
(Focke 1855:130)

We also find subject copying constructions, as in

- (16) Mi haksi hem, mi taki O! fa joe kan doe so sani?
'I asked him, I says, oh! How can you do such a thing?'
(Focke 1855:91)

and possibly noun CCs introduced by taki:

- (17) a. A tjari njoensoe kom, taki ...
'He brought the news that ...'
(Focke 1855:90)
- b. Misi seni brifi kom, taki
'My wife wrote me that ...'
(Focke 1855:18)

However, 'tjari...njoensoe' and 'seni...brifi' might also be complex predicates (cf. the discussion above). Subject clauses and adverbial clauses with taki do not occur in Focke.

4.3.3. Wullschlaegel (1856)

In Wullschlaegel's dictionary we also find a whole range of constructions, i.e. unmarked CCs (as in (18a)), subject copying constructions (as in (18b)), and as complementiser (cf. examples under (19) below):

- (18) a. A taki, hem no wani kom.
'He said he didn't want to come.'
(Wullschlaegel 1856:75)
- b. A bori hem, a taki ...
'He called him, he says ...'
(Wullschlaegel 1856:14)

Being two times as voluminous as Focke's dictionary, the analysis of Wullschlaegel provides a long list of verbs that take a CC with complementiser taki. The verbs include the following speech act, perception and cognitive verbs taki doro 'insist' (p. 43), sweri 'swear' (p. 43), si 'see' (p.322), poti 'assume'(p. 82), sabi 'know' (p.115), denki 'think' (p. 153), strey 'argue' (p. 318), rei 'advise' (p. 281), sori 'show' (p.339).¹² Let me give only three examples:

- (19) a. A taki doro, taki, a de so.
'He insisted that it be like that'
(Wullschlaegel 1856:43)
- b. Joe kapoe kraboe: ju si, taki, a no habi broedoe.
'You cut a crab: you see that it has no blood'
(Wullschlaegel 1856:375)
- c. Meki wi poti, taki ...
'Let us assume that ...'
(Wullschlaegel 1856:43)

Wullschlaegel also presents four examples of possible noun complementation with *taki*. The nouns are the following: *lei* 'lie', *taki taki* 'talk, gossip', *koesoe koesoe* 'rumour', *tori* 'story':

- (20) a. Joe sa meki lei dri tron, taki, joe no sabi mi.
'You will lie (lit.: make the lie) three times that you don't know me'
(Wullschlaegel 1856:256)
- b. Wan taki taki (od. koesoe koesoe) waka na foto, taki ...
'There is a rumour in town that ...'
(Wullschlaegel 1856:104)
- c. Tori de waka waka ondro ondro, taki ...
'The story is circulating, that ...'
(Wullschlaegel 1856:164)

(20b and 20c) provide a clue that the CC is indeed an extraposed noun complement, since the head noun is in subject position and no complex predicate can be evoked as an alternative.

For consecutive clauses he only gives 'tee' as a conjunction, for purpose clauses 'vo'.

Some confusion arises when one looks at the entry for the German complementiser *dass* 'that' (remember that Wullschlaegel is a German-Sranan dictionary). Wullschlaegel gives *vo*, *meki*, *dati*, *disi*, *tee* as possible translations of *dass* without producing any sample sentences. He simply refers the reader to a grammar book, "siehe Grammatik" (p. 55), possibly the *Kurzgefasste Neger-englische Grammatik* which had appeared two years earlier and which contains a section on subordinate sentences.¹³

The remarkable thing with this list of translations for German *dass* is the contradiction that *taki* is not included, although throughout the dictionary we have lots of examples of its complementiser use. On the other hand we do not find any examples for complementiser *dati*.¹⁴

Wullschlaegel seems to have imposed his traditional grammatical categories on Sranan without too critical an examination. The conclusion should therefore be that, in order to determine the status of *dati* and *taki*, one should rely on the sample sentences scattered in the dictionary rather than on this mysterious entry for *dass*.

4.3.4. Summary and evaluation: the 1850s

The analysis of the three sources dating from the 1850s has provided the following results:

- we find subject copying in two of the three sources
- we find *taki* as quotative complementiser in two sources
- we find the use of complementiser *taki* with cognitive verbs in all sources

- we find *taki* as complementiser in structures that may be noun CCs in all three sources, but there are only two clear examples to support the view that we are not dealing with complex predicates.
- we do not find any evidence for *taki* in purpose clauses or consecutive clauses.
- we do not find subject clauses in any of the sources.
- *dati* as complementiser is not attested in Focke's dictionary, it is also lacking in Wullschlaegel, and it is described as very infrequent in the *Grammatik*.

We can therefore conclude that mid 19th century Sranan is at stage 4 of the grammaticalisation continuum given above. Only noun CC occur as a manifestation of stage 5, a fact that probably calls for a slight revision of our continuum, a point to which we will return in section 5.

'*Taki*' is firmly established as a complementiser, but it is not yet used in adverbial clauses and subject clauses. '*Dati*' is at best marginal, only starting to enter the language. Given our criticism of Wullschlaegel (who is also the putative author of the *Grammatik*) as being heavily influenced by Bakratongo and/or Church Sranan, and given that '*dati*' does not occur in Focke, which is the linguistically best source, we may conclude that '*dati*' is entering the language through Bakratongo, i.e. due to Dutch influence. This hypothesis will be discussed in detail in section 5.

4.4 King (1865 and 1893)

In King's diary from 1865 the most frequent construction involving '*taki*' is the resumptive pronoun construction as given in (21):

- (21) a. *Mi piki den, mi taki: ...*
 'I answered them, I says:'
 (King 1973:80)
- b. *En Noah ferteri den na tori, a taki: ...*
 'And Noah told them the story, he says: ...'
 (King 1973:83)

We also find '*taki*' as complementiser with speech act verbs (such as '*sweri*') and with cognitive and perception verbs (such as '*sabi*', '*parkseri*', '*bribi*', '*si*') as in the following examples:¹⁵

- (22) a. *Nomo Johannes King taki gi Noah taki: mi de hopo pikinso.*
 'At once Johannes King said to Noah: "I am standing a little while"
 (King 1973:83)

- b. Noah, te joe go na bilo, taki gi ala soema taki, granman Beiman gi ala soema fri pasi foe den alamala kan go na kerki.
'Noah, when you go down, tell all people that Chief Baiman gives free passage to all people so that they all can go to church.'
(King 1973:92)
- c. Oen no sabi taki wi no habi tranga foe wi srefi?
'Don't you know that we don't have our own strength?'
(King 1973:96)
- d. Wi si krin, taki na wortoe foe Gado no de foe soso.
'We saw clearly that God's words were not for nothing.'
(King 1973:99)

'Dati' is never used as a complementiser, though frequently as a pronoun.

'Taki' does neither occur as introducer of purpose clauses nor in subject clauses. These findings from a source written only about a decade later than Grammatik, Focke and Wullschlaegel substantiate the conclusions reached above concerning the developmental stage of mid 19th century Sranan.

Let us turn now to King's writings of 1893, where we basically find the same types of constructions as in his earlier texts, with one significant exception. 'Dati' in the new function as complementiser has by now entered King's grammar, it seems to be in free variation with 'taki', as the following sentences show:

- (23) a. Wi go taki gi leriman Seekter, nanga granleriman Steler, taki na Johannes King kiri Noah.
'We will tell Missionary Seekter, and Head Missionary Steler that Johannes King killed Noah.'
(King 1973:128)
- b. Te den taki gi leriman dati Johannes King kiri Noah, dan ala den leriman sa kisi hatibron na tapoe foe Johannes King.
'When they tell the teachers that Johannes King killed Noah, then all the teachers will be angry with Johannes King.'
(King 1973:128)
- (24) a. En den alamala sabi heri boen taki Alanfanti de wan heiden suma.
'And they all knew very well that Alanfanti was a heathen.'
(King 1973:139)
- b. Den sabi boen-boen dati Alanfanti no sabi foe tiri na wroko.
'They knew very well that Alanfanti was not able to manage the work.'
(King 1973:139)

'Dati' is used with all kinds of verbs that take clausal complements, among others we find 'sabi' (cf. (24) above), 'bribi' (p. 133), 'taki gi' (cf. (23) above), and 'si' (p. 117).

With the reservations discussed earlier, there are also possible examples of noun CCs introduced by `taki':

- (25) a. Oen sori wan krin bewijs taki oenoe libi Masra Jesus.
'You showed clear evidence that you left Jesus.'
(King 1973:123)

4.5. *Kraag (1894-96)*

In Kraag we find `taki' as complementiser with speech act verbs, such as `taki gi' (pp. 35, 39, 40, 41, 43, 44, 46), `ferteri' (p.45), `pramisi' (p.43), `piki' (pp. 34, 39), `trowstoe' (p. 42), `fermane' (p.42), and with cognitive and perception verbs, such as `sabi' (pp. 36, 38, 44, 46), `denki' (pp. 38, 44), `bribi' (p.34), `si' (pp. 34, 36, 37, 39, 41), as in the following examples picked out for illustration:

- (26) a. Gebi pramisi den taki dati de wan law sani.
'Gebi promised them that that was a foolish thing.'
(Kraag 1980:43)
b. Den no ben sabi taki Martinus de kon.
'They did not know that Martinus was coming.'
(Kraag 1980:41)
c. Na watrasé kaba joe kan si taki dja de wan oso foe didibri.
'From the shore you can see that there is a house for the devil.'
(Kraag 1980:41)

Two possible noun CCs can be found in Kraag, one with `taki', one with `dati' as complementiser:

- (27) a. Pikin moro den no ben kaba foe taki ofoe toe jonkoema kon doro drape, di ben tjari da boskopoe kon gi Aikonjo taki en sisa dede.
'A little later they had not finished discussing whether two young men came through there, who had brought the message to Aikonjo that his sister was dead.'
(Kraag 1980:46)
b. We, Pakoema gi den da pramisi dati den no abi foe frede.
'Well, Pakoema gave them the promise that there was nothing to fear.'
(Kraag 1980:43)

This is the first occurrence of `dati' in noun CCs. Since we have only two examples of noun CCs in this source we have to be careful with generalisations. Even so, what the sentences do show is that `dati' is in the process of achieving the same distribution as `taki'. Again clear evidence for the noun CC status is lacking, because sentences like `A

boskopu, taki a no kon, no bun' (the message that he won't come is not good) are not exemplified in the source.

Complementiser `dati' occurs in 3 out of 37 sentences involving a verb CC. The verbs in these constructions are `bribi' (p. 36), `sabi' (p. 39), and `warskow' ('warn') (p. 43). That `dati' has indeed a marginal status is corroborated by the fact that with other constructions the author frequently uses Dutch words, e.g. `want' ('for, because') (p. 34, 41, 44), `bijna' ('almost') (p. 34), `faste' ('firmly') (p. 36), `toen' ('then') (p. 40, 41).

Possibly the most interesting structure in Kraag is a consecutive clause introduced by `so ... taki'. This is the first time that we find this type of construction in a Sranan text:

- (28) Da sisa foe en waktu en someni jari kaba taki a sa kon trowe wan pikin sopi èn nanjan gi en, ma dati a no doe toe.
 'His sister had waited for him already for so many years that she would only give him a little liquor and food, but she didn't even do that.'
 (Kraag 1980:46)

Possibly due to stylistic reasons, no subject copying constructions occur. Apart from this exception Kraag (1894-96) displays the same range of patterns as King's texts of 1893. Together the two sources provide us with a coherent picture of the language as spoken (or rather: written) at the turn of the century.

4.6. *Herskovits and Herskovits (1936)*

Only a small portion of the Herskovits and Herskovits data formed the basis for the analysis of the variation in the use of `taki' in modern Sranan (cf. Plag (in press)). A more extensive study of the source in the framework of this diachronic investigation did not produce significantly differing results. Since there is no need to repeat the discussion of the Herskovits and Herskovits data, I will merely present one example of the type of construction that did not occur in the small sample, but did occur in the large sample, i.e. a possible noun CC:

- (29) A sen' boskopu gi ala meti taki eng mama dede.
 'He send a message to all the animals that his mother was dead.'
 (Herskovits and Herskovits 1936:180)

`Dati' as complementiser does occur rarely in the speech of Herskovits and Herskovits's principal informant, but is more frequent in other informants' speech. Informant 10, "of Javanese descent" (Herskovits and Herskovits 1936:115) and therefore possibly not a native speaker of Sranan, uses `dati' as the regular complementiser, which is probably one of the reasons for Herskovits and Herskovits's remark that "The difference between his taki-taki and that of our other informants is noteworthy" (Herskovits and Herskovits

1936:115). Nevertheless, this informant sometimes uses also 'taki' as complementiser. Let me give one example for each complementiser:

- (30) a. Grama taigi eng dati a no sa kan du.
'The chief told him that he could not do it.'
(Herskovits and Herskovits 1936:202/203)
- b. Tigri de begi Anansi bikasi a frede taki, Anansi go dede.
'Tiger was begging Anansi because he was frightened that Anansi would die.'
(Herskovits and Herskovits 1936:204/205)

In purpose clauses or consecutive clauses we find 'so dati' (< Dutch 'zodat') but never 'so taki':

- (31) A poti ala ukupatu wan sekrepatu, so dati ala pe Dia 'e lo' na fesi a i mit' sekrepatu.
'At every corner she put a tortoise, so that everywhere Deer ran he met a tortoise ahead of him.'
(Herskovits and Herskovits 1936:192/193)

5. *The emergence of complementisers: A scenario*

Let us summarise the developments observed.

In the mid and late 18th century there is strong evidence against 'taki' as an established complementiser. Asyndetic constructions seem to be the rule instead.

By the middle of the 19th century 'taki' is established as a complementiser with speech act verbs, perception verbs, and cognitive verbs. It is also used in structures that might be analysed as noun CCs, but there are only two sentences that may be cited as clear evidence for this claim.

At the end of the 19th century we observe two major innovations, the establishment of 'dati' as complementiser, and the emergence of consecutive clauses employing 'taki' as complementiser.

Reconsidering our grammaticalisation continuum drawn from a synchronic analysis, we can state that the diachronic data by and large reconfirm what was said in Plag (in press). Some remarks and corrections are in order, though.

At stage 2a we do not only find subject copying constructions, but also what I have called object sharing constructions, which seem to function as markers of direct discourse, with 'taki' still being a verb. At Stage IIb 'taki' is still not clearly integrated into the CC, a classification as complementiser seems not yet appropriate.

The implicational relationship between the different stages of the continuum might not be exactly as previously conceived. 'Taki' as complementiser in CCs of cognitive verbs could not be shown to be an earlier development than its use with perception verb CCs.

The use of `taki' in noun CCs may have occurred already at stage 2, although the first clear example occurs only later (mid 19th century). It is also necessary to say that the use of `taki' in adverbial clauses is strongly influenced by the superstrate.¹⁶ Hence, this stage in Sranan does not reflect a possibly universal path of grammaticalisation but a rather unique language contact phenomenon.

According to our findings we can revise the continuum along the following lines:

(32) Grammaticalisation continuum of taki (revised)

1. gSAV

Late 18th century:

2. insertion of taki between SAV and CC:
 - a. involving subject copying/object sharing (quotative verb)
 - b. without subject copying (?quotative verb/complementiser)

Mid 19th century:

3. insertion of taki after CogVs and perception verbs (complementiser)
4. Taki as complementiser of noun CCs

Late 19th century:

5. taki as conjunction of consecutive adverbial clauses

20th century:

6. conjunction of final adverbial clauses, as well as subject clauses CCs

It is only in the middle of the 19th century that `dati' starts entering the language. In this period of time however, its status is at best marginal. This state of affairs has changed significantly by the end of the 19th century. By that time, `dati' is in free distribution with `taki' in verb CCs, however it is not found in noun CCs.

In the early 20th century `so dati' can be used - as an alternative to `fu' - in purpose clauses.

`Dati' as complementiser only occurs after the establishment of complementiser `taki'. I will demonstrate in the following that this is by no means a coincidence, but that the establishment of taki was a precondition for the emergence of `dati'. Complementiser `dati' may also constitute an interesting case for the complex interaction of intralinguistic developments and transfer from the superstrate.

For the emergence of complementiser `dati' we have three possible explanations:

- Complementiser `dati' is a direct loan from Dutch, simply having adopted Sranan regular syllable structure by vowel epithesis.

- The Sranan demonstrative pronoun 'dati' extended its function, a process which is familiar from other languages where the demonstrative pronoun is also used as a complementiser, as e.g. in English, Dutch, or German.
- A combination of intra- and extralinguistic factors.

In favor of the first explanation it can be said that according to our analysis of the mid 19th century data 'dati' may have entered Sranan through Bakratongo, i.e. there is some sort of Dutch influence involved.

The second explanation need not rely on the notion of transfer or borrowing, which always faces the difficulty to explain why feature X was chosen for transfer and not feature Y. In addition, strong cross-linguistic evidence supports this explanation.

A synthesis of the two however seems to be most convincing, in that it can combine the advantages of both explanations without sharing their weaknesses.

In many cases *dati* occurs as an object pronoun immediately after the matrix verb (cf. (33a) and (33b)), i.e. in a position where it should be interpreted as a complementiser in cases like (33c) (and (23b), (24b) above):

- (33) a. En alwasi den boi foe Maripaston no sabi dati, ma mi Johannes King sabi dati.
'And the whole time the boys of Maripaston did not know that, but I, Johannes King, knew it.'
(King 1973:140)
- b. We sonten son foe oenoe, den njoen mansipasi friman, sa wani haksi foe san hede den moesoe skrifi dati, taki oenoe den mansipasi friman no de taki Masra Gado grantangi soleki fa a de fiti foe taki hen tangi.
'Well perhaps your sons, the newly emancipated free men, would want to ask why they must write that, that you emancipated free men do not thank God the way it is fitting to thank him.'
(King 1973:131f)
- c. Den kon sabi dati na didibri ben seti wan trapoe gi Maripaston.
'They learned that the devil had set a trap for Maripaston.'
(King 1973:125)

In (33b) 'dati' is the pronominal object of 'skrifi', the *taki*-clause being the antecedent of the pronoun 'dati'.¹⁷ As already mentioned before, due to the editor's work the punctuation in King (1973) cannot give us any clues concerning King's intonation patterns. In Kraag's text, however, we find 'dati' intonationally integrated into the CC. Disregarding intonation and simply relying on word order instead, one may well argue that 'dati' in sentences like (33c) could also be interpreted as the pronominal object of the matrix verb, with the following clause as the antecedent of 'dati'. We are thus facing a structural ambiguity which may have fostered the reanalysis of 'dati' as complementiser. Given that there is a similarity in form and function between Sranan demonstrative pronoun 'dati' and

Dutch demonstrative pronoun and complementiser 'dat', which triggered cross-linguistic identification of 'dati' and 'dat', the reanalysis of 'dati' as complementiser may well have been modelled on Dutch.

The socio-linguistic situation in Surinam supports this hypothesis. In the last half of the 19th century there is a growing influence of Dutch among the black population in the colony. After the emancipation of the slaves in 1863 many former slaves migrated to town (i.e. Paramaribo), where schools and the promise of social rise and economic success promoted the use of the language of the colonisers also among blacks. In 1876 the introduction of compulsory school attendance with Dutch as the only medium of instruction formally expressed the Dutch-centered language policy in the colony (cf. Eersel 1987 for details). Hence, we can assume that a significant, and - due to formal teaching at school - growing number of black people in the second half of the 19th century had at least some knowledge of Dutch (cf. e.g. Rens 1953: ch. X). Taking into account that Dutch was also the language with the highest social prestige, one would expect some significant Dutch influence on Sranan.¹⁸

To summarise, we can say that the interaction of language-internal developments and Dutch influence can best account for the new use of 'dati' as complementiser. This approach can cope with the problems faced by uni-causal explanations. The hypothesis that complementiser 'dati' is an extension of former functions of 'dati' modelled on Dutch 'dat' has the advantage of combining arguments that are based on language-internal facts and typological considerations with an explanation of the problem of transfer in terms of cross-linguistic identification due to similarities in form and function.

No matter which explanation one would be inclined to follow, the most important fact is that each of them presupposes the establishment of 'taki' as a complementiser. With the establishment of complementiser 'taki' we have a position that can be filled by the new item (be it Dutch or Sranan of origin). If, for instance, Sranan had not had a complementiser position to fill after certain verbs, the insertion of 'dati' would have meant a major restructuring of clause structure, and not only the insertion of a new item into an already existing position.

The contemporary use of so 'taki', in free distribution with 'so dati' (modelled on Dutch 'zodat') is one of the consequences of the free distribution of 'taki' and 'dati'.

6. Conclusion

Having sketched the emergence of 'taki' and 'dati' as complementisers in Sranan, let us turn to possible implications of the findings for the 'substrate vs. universals' debate and the most recent discussion of 'gradualness in creolisation'.

Is complementiser 'taki' an African residue, or a language-internal development following a universal path of grammaticalisation (cf. Ebert 1991)? The arguments are discussed in detail in Plag (in press), and it suffices to say that there is not enough substantial evidence for either position. What seems however clear in the light of the

findings presented in the foregoing paper is the fact that advocates of the substrate position would have to show that in the late 18th and early 19th century African languages were still spoken to a large extent in Surinam. On the basis of the evidence that we have this seems rather unlikely, but further research is necessary to substantiate this claim.

Let us finally address a question that has gained some attention in the field of creole studies, the issue of 'gradual creolisation' (cf. e.g. Arends (1989), and Bickerton (1991) for recent contributions discussing this hypothesis).

The emergence of complementiser 'taki' falls into a period probably dating from 1780 to 1850, which is the same period of which Arends says that major syntactic restructuring took place in Sranan (cf. his scenario for the development of the Sranan copula, Arends (1986), (1989:67)). Arends claims that the developments he found give evidence for the gradual creolisation of Sranan. However, whether the type of restructuring he talks about, and the type of change the foregoing study revealed, may be regarded as part of the creolisation process seems to be largely dependent on one's notion of what constitutes a 'full-fledged' language. Whereas Bickerton's requirements, being part of the language bioprogram, constitute a rather limited set of features and principles (cf. e.g. Bickerton 1991), Arends' notion of full-fledged language seems to be more comprehensive. On my view of Arends' position, he demands the presence of a range of stylistic and referential devices that facilitate communication, reducing e.g. the sources of possible ambiguities. This is exactly what the innovations observed by Arends, and those presented in this paper do; they open up new referential and stylistic options in Sranan.¹⁹ One could however argue with some justification that these options are not necessary for a language, i.e. many languages may do well without factive complementisers or copula.

On my view, Arends' position and Bickerton's position do not exclude one another. I can well imagine the emergence of a creole according to Bickerton's bioprogram, but I would predict that this type of language will very quickly develop new referential and stylistic options similar to the ones mentioned above. Thus, in addition to the basis provided by the bioprogram, we may observe changes in creole languages of a kind - at least in terms of rapidity - which we might not find with other languages. It should therefore be one of the aims of future work to compare language change in non-creole languages to changes as described in this study.

The emergence of complementiser 'dati' was shown to be the result of a combination of language-internal facts and superstrate influence. Hence, one might be tempted to subsume the phenomenon under the heading 'decreolisation'. However, we are not faced with decreolisation in the 'classical' sense, namely that "an already existing function ... acquires a new [i.e. superstrate, I.P.] form" (Bickerton 1980:113). What happens to be the case is that, triggered by superstrate influence, an already existing form is used for a different, but already existing function, alongside with the formerly established morpheme. Traditional models of decreolisation with dichotomies like 'decreolisation vs. natural changes' (Bickerton 1981:85f) are not able to handle this kind of development.

To summarise, we can say that the complex processes involved in the emergence and development of 'dati' and 'taki' demonstrate that existing models of creolisation and

decreolisation need further sophistication, and that diachronic studies of creole - and non-creole - languages are called for to provide the necessary evidence.

Notes

1. Still, we are not as fortunate as the student of Negerhollands who can use a fair amount of native speaker texts dating back to the period between 1737 and 1768 (cf. Stein 1986 for details).
2. Of course there are other important varieties, as e.g. the plantation and town varieties, or the church variety. It seems that some of these varieties overlap (e.g. Church Sranan and Bakratongo), but we will leave this issue to dialectological studies. For some discussion of this point see e.g. Voorhoeve 1971.
3. I will adopt the convention to use the earliest date with a question mark attached to it.
4. My analysis will be entirely based on this edition of Schumann's manuscript. For a critical evaluation of Kramp's edition cf. Arends (1984).
5. Schumann also wrote an excellent dictionary of Saramaccan, published in Schuchardt (1914).
6. Cf. Voorhoeve/Lichtveld (1975:118) for a discussion of this point.
7. Being Herskovits and Herskovits's principal informant, informant 1 provided the vast majority of tales, whereas others contributed only a few or even only one tale: tales 1-55 (Herskovits and Herskovits 1936:150-245), informants:

informant 1:	32	tales
informant 2:	1	"
informant 3:	1	"
informant 4:	6	"
informant 6:	6	"
informant 7:	1	"
informant 9:	3	"
informant 10:	4	"
informant 13:	1	"
8. We will come back to this point in section 4.6.
9. Herskovits and Herskovits's phonetic transcription has been rendered into regular spelling, keeping the punctuation.
10. I have tried to provide translations that reflect the original Sranan structure to some extent, which occasionally results in somewhat strange English diction.
11. There were 5 constructions involving subject copying, as in (5a) and 10 without subject copying, as in (5b).
12. Many of the verbs occur several times.

DIACHRONY OF CREOLE COMPLEMENTIZERS

13. Some of the sample sentences given in 4.3.1. are taken from this section of the Grammatik.
14. What we do find are examples for 'vo', 'meki' and 'tee', whereas the role of 'disi' remains unclear.
15. Note that the punctuation in these examples was done by the editor De Ziel, who revised King's own punctuation "almost entirely" (De Ziel in his introduction to *Life at Maripaston* (King 1973:11)).
16. The original superstrate of Sranan was of course English, which was then replaced by Dutch.
17. This type of construction is frequent in languages with an OV or verb second word order, like German (cf. (ia)), with the pronoun often being cliticised as (ib) and (ic):
 - (i) a. Ich hab' ihr das gesagt, daß es nicht geht.
(Lit.: I have her it told, that it not goes)
'I've told her that it's impossible.'
 - b. Ich hab ihrs gesagt, daß es nicht geht.
 - c. Ich habs ihr gesagt, daß es nicht geht.
18. This influence is apparent in the lexicon. Many English-based items were replaced by Dutch-based ones, and new words were generally borrowed from Dutch.
19. Jean Aitchison (p.c., 1990) observed a similar phenomenon in Tok Pisin. The Tok Pisin being nativised by adolescents displayed a wider range of variation in the use of certain constructions than the established second language version of the language. However, the second language version of Tok Pisin would not qualify for 'restricted input' in the Bickertonian sense. Hence the nativisation of Tok Pisin does not meet his definition of creolisation.

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BERBICIAANSCH E WOORDE

Ian E. Robertson

The earliest surviving evidence of actual items of the creole language Berbice Dutch (BD) is a list of forty four items collected by Pieter Constantijn Groen during his trip to Berbice in 1794. The significance of this list and an analysis of the items on it are the subjects of this paper.

Berbice Dutch is the name given by one of its speakers to the creole language which developed on the plantations on the Berbice River and its tributaries the Canje and Wiruni Creeks. (Robertson, 1976). The Berbice colony was established by Abraham Van Pere who set up the first settlement on the Berbice River in 1627. Much of the early history is undocumented but historians Netsher (1889), Thompson, (1987), McCowan (1988), Van Berkel (1948) agreed that growth of the colony was slow. Even though sugar had been introduced by the 1660's, as late as 1710 there were no more than a dozen plantations. The list of words supplied by Groen less than a century later is therefore of considerable historical and linguistic significance.

There is little historical evidence of the source of the people brought to Berbice to supply the much needed labour of the sugar, cotton and coffee plantations. Smith, Robertson and Williamson (1987) argue on the basis of much wider

evidence than Groen's list presents that, given the high proportion of Eastern Ijo lexical items in this Ijo-Dutch derived Creole which evolved as the first language of the community, there must have been a dominant and indeed almost exclusive Eastern Ijo (EI) presence among slaves at the time of the development of Berbice Dutch.

Caribbean historians have made little use of linguistic information for clarifying areas of history for which no further information exists. Such linguistic evidence, treated with the necessary rigour, could reveal substantial information on the development of territories like Berbice for which there is virtually no documentation of its first seventy years. In this case the list sent home by Groen in 1794 could be critical to the determination of demographic patterns during a critical period of the colony's history. Of the forty four items on Groen's list, thirty two are of EI origin and two are compounds of pure EI origin and two are compounds of mixed EI and Dutch origin. Seven items are clearly of Dutch origin. Two are Arawaccan. One, 'allalla', is probably of West African origin.

The origins of lexical items on this short list lend considerable support to the argument that B.D. developed out of contact between Dutch speakers and speakers of one West African language group, EI. Robertson (1988) has argued that by the time of the Berbice slave rebellion of 1763 the

population was a very mixed one with little evidence of Ijos among the five hundred odd slaves tried in 1764. The fact that the geographic area in which BD has survived was never resettled by the Dutch after 1763 suggests that there was no possibility of B.D. developing between 1763 and 1793. Indeed the records of Plantation de Eendragt list two slaves as speaking 'Nederduijts' in 1741. It may well be that this reference is to a creolised language, probable, B.D. Ijo dominance must have antedated the rebellion by many years for it to have attained such linguistic significance among the slave population in the upriver areas by 1763.

One satisfactory explanation for the high percentage of items of EI origin is the possibility that for a long period of time, perhaps during the slow growth of the colony in the seventeenth century, the plantation slaves were a homogeneous or largely homogeneous group which increased mainly through creole births. By the time of rapid expansion of the plantation base therefore, BD was well established as the language for intergroup communication.

Groen's forty four item list is the earliest evidence of B.D. yet discovered. It is also the longest list of items yet found in the contemporary writings. The list is restricted to very basic semantic domains. Half of the list (i.e. twenty two items) represents parts of the body, a further fifteen items represent basic survival functions e.g. eat, sleep, run,

drink, etc. Though Groen's interests were not in the use of glottochronology, his list compares very favourably with the Swadesh two hundred word list. Twenty three of the forty four items occurring on this list are also to be found on the Swadesh list. Although the criteria used by Groen for selecting the items listed here can only be arrived at by conjecture, it is clear that he was influenced in part by his own concept of basic words and in part by items which he heard most frequently.

The list is also very instructive on the processes used by creole languages to expand the lexicon. Compounding is the most revealing of these processes. 'Boi vingre' the toes (literally leg fingers) 'torro hari' eyelashes (literally eye hair) are descriptive compounds with many parallels in Caribbean Creoles. Rickford (1975 inter alia) provides a considerable discussion of what he calls "masked Africanisms in Guyanese speech". Richard Allsopp (1976) provides a more extensive discussion of such 'Africanisms'.

The Nembe parallels here are instructive. In Nembe 'buo imeme' and 'bara imeme' represent toes and finger nails respectively i.e. 'leg imeme' and 'arm imeme'. (Atwotua Efebo 23-24) Such compounding is not restricted exclusively to either source language. The two items listed here are significant precisely because they represent a mixture of EI and Dutch compounded on the morphological principles of E.I.

On the other hand 'tombi' see appears to be an all-Ijo compound of 'tombo' person and 'bi' greet/salute. The form 'tombi', which in present-day B.D. means see (visit) a person appears to have developed under the dynamics of vocabulary expansion. Similarly 'lukeba' tell a story appears to be derived from 'o/1/o/ko' (Kalabari) 'lu ghu' (Ibani) story and 'gba', 'gbaa' (Ibani) (Kalabari) tell. In both these cases the order of the constituents in the compounds object-verb, remains that of E.I. This in spite of the fact that present day B.D. displays an unquestionable subject-verb-object basic word order.

Since creolisation is thought to be the expansion of a pidgin as a result of the dynamics of the nativisation process, close attention should be paid to the principles underlying vocabulary development. The observations arising from the above compounds clearly point to the dynamic role of the substrate language in the creolisation process.

One item 'bitappe' clothing indicates the use of the B.D. plural morpheme. The root word 'bita' is E.I. in origin and the suffix 'appe' represents the plural marker on nouns with the feature [+ Human] in E.I. Clearly, as has been argued by Robertson (1988), this suffix survived the creolisation process and is used productively in B.D. today. However, in B.D. its use is generalised to all noun classes and nominals. The item listed here reflects the B.D. rather than the E.I.

rule, since clothing is not a noun belonging to the class that would have taken - apu' (Kalabari, Ibani) in E.I.

A comparison of the Groen list with present day B.D. usage indicates that all items but one are known though not all are known or used by all surviving B.D. speakers. This is the direct result of declining speaker competence as the language moves towards its inevitable death.

As is frequently the case with written documents of this type, there can be no guarantee that Groen's list was compiled with strict adherence to either phonetic or phonemic principles. Consequently, any comparison between this list and current B.D. usage would require more attention to detail than concerns this paper. However, assuming only minor changes in pronunciation, the following appear to represent inconsistencies in the system used by Groen. "e" is used for unstressed vowel on "bitape" for a mid central vowel in "poke" and "bole", for the high front vowel in "vingre" and for the mid front vowel in "agtere".

The entire list is appended with the English equivalents inserted.

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Van Berkel, Adrian. 1948. Travels in South America between the Berbice and Essequibo Rivers and in Suriname : 1670-1689. The Guyana Edition. Trans W.E. Roth Georgetown : Daily Chronicle.

Barbaaantche woorden

ARA, 2^e afdel.,
part. arch.
jijlicher m. 34
m. m. 3

jeffi	Eeten	vlees
Bou	Drinken	kaas
monne	Slaapen	suiker
fangles	omhelzen	wyn
janne	vrouwen	rood
pokke	Liefde	zwart
winje	gaan	de dag
manje	loopen	de nacht
arowade	kruipen	de maan
Ligie	Tokke	de zon
fangele	gekscheeren	God
lukeba	vertelle	de lucht
bifi	Spreeken	t dordert
horri	hooren	t regent
tombi	Zien	t waart
coene	ruiken	mooy weer
blasi	ademhaalen	bidden
foule	tasten	schelden
tibi	t hoofd	steelen
hari	t haar	goed geeven
torre	de Oogen	geld geeven
nini	de neus	sladg geeven
acusawano	de wengsbrouwe	gedaan
torro hari	t haatvande Oogen	it is op
bere	de oore	t is er niet
bibi	de mond	t is er
acca	de tanden	t is daar
allalla	de tong	t was daar
louko	de wang	
pokke	de hals	
dondo	de borsten	
bolle	de Buik	
imboe	de navel	
colle	de Bille	
appa	de Schouders	
bara	arme hande	
vingre	de vingers	
boi	t been	
boi	de Tanden	

manje	loopen	de nacht
arowade	kruipen	de maan
Ligie	Tokke	de zon
fanyele	gekscheeren	god
lukeba	vertelle	de lucht
bifi	spreeken	t doordert
hori	hooren	t regent
tombi	zien	t waart
coene	ruiken	mooy weer
blasi	ademhaalen	bidden
foule	tasten	schelden
tibi	t hoofd	steelen
hari	t haar	goed geeven
torre	de Oogen	geld geeven
nini	de neus	stads geeven
acusawano	de wengstbrauwe	gedaan
torro hari	t haafvande Oogen	it is op
bere	de oore	t is er niet
bibi	de mond	t is er
acca	de tanden	t is daar
allalla	de tong	t was daar
louko	de wang	
pokke	de hals	
dondo	de borsten	
bolle	de Buik	
imboe	de navel	
colle	de Bille	
appa	de Schouders	
bara	arme hande	
ringre	de vingers	
boi	t been	
boi ringre	de Toonen	
agtere	de rug	
coende	de heupen	
bitappe	kleeen of linnegoed	
migne	water	
kika	brood	

AGR IN LANGUAGES
WITHOUT PERSON AND NUMBER AGREEMENT:
THE CASE OF THE CLAUSAL DETERMINER IN HAITIAN AND FON*

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0. Introduction

0.1. Preliminary remarks

In Haitian creole and in Fon, a language of the Kwa family spoken in Benin, there is a clausal determiner (shown in bold in the examples below). The presence of the clausal determiner in a clause triggers an interpretation of the clause where the information being reported on is interpreted as old/known information. This is rendered in the translation by 'as expected/as we knew'.

- | | | | | | | | |
|-----|------|-----|---------|---------|-----|------------|---------|
| (1) | Moun | nan | detwi | manchin | nan | an. | HAITIAN |
| | Súnù | ś | gbà | mótò | ś | ś. | FON |
| | man | Det | destroy | car | Det | Det | |

'The man destroyed the car **as expected/as we knew.**'

The determiner also occurs with NPs. In this context as well, the presence of the determiner entails that the pertinent information is already known to the participants (cf. Fournier, 1977, Lefebvre and Fournier, 1978, and Lefebvre, 1982 for Haitian; and Lefebvre, 1986, for Fon.)

- | | | | | | |
|-----|------|-------|-------|-----|---------|
| (2) | Jan | manje | pen | an. | HAITIAN |
| | Kòkú | ḡù | blédì | ś. | FON |
| | J/K | eat | bread | Det | |

'J/K ate the bread (in question / that we know of).'

The clausal determiner is similar to the nominal determiner in both languages with respect to the following properties. First, in both environments the projection of the determiner is head final as can be observed from (1) and (2). Second, in both environments the determiner undergoes the same phonological processes yielding numerous variants: *la*, *(n)an*, *a* for Haitian, (cf. Tinelli, 1970; Valdman, 1976 and Fournier, 1978) and *lś*, *ś*, *śn* for Fon (cf. Lefebvre, 1986). Third, in both cases, the presence of the determiner identifies old/known information. The specification of known/old information is referred to in the literature by the term deixis (e.g. Fillmore, 1966; Heim, 1982). In line with this terminology, I will use the feature [+deictic] in order to characterize the determiner of Haitian and Fon. Fourth, in both contexts there appears to be a surface filter, preventing the succession of several determiners at S-Structure.¹ Finally, in both environments, the clausal determiner is in complementary distribution with a phonologically null determiner. For

example, bare nouns are interpreted as generic or as mass nouns as in (3) and (4) respectively.

- | | | | | |
|-----|----------------------|---------|----------|---------|
| (3) | Jan | detwi | manchin. | HAITIAN |
| | Kòkú | gbà | mótò. | FON |
| | J/K | destroy | car | |
| | 'J/K destroys cars.' | | | |

- | | | | | |
|-----|------------------|-------|--------|---------|
| (4) | Jan | manje | pen. | HAITIAN |
| | Kòkú | ḍù | blédì. | FON |
| | J/K | eat | bread | |
| | 'J/K ate bread.' | | | |

Moreover, proper names (person or place) do not occur with the determiner. Nonetheless proper names have the same properties as [+deictic] noun phrases (cf. Joseph, 1987-1988)

Nouns occurring with *yon* and *ḍé* 'a', in Haitian and Fon respectively, are interpreted as indefinite count nouns. Note that *yon* and *ḍé* are not determiners.

- | | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------|-------|-----|-----------|---------|
| (5) | Jan | manje | yon | pen. | HAITIAN |
| | Kòkú | ḍù | | blédì ḍé. | FON |
| | J/K | eat | a | bread a | |
| | 'J/K ate a piece of bread.' | | | | |

(6) exemplifies a clause which contains no determiner. In this case, there is no presupposition that the information contained in the clause is known by the participants.

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|------------------------------|-----|---------|---------|------|---------|
| (6) | Moun | nan | detwi | manchin | nan. | HAITIAN |
| | Súnù | ń | gbà | mótò | ń. | FON |
| | man | Det | destroy | car | Det | |
| | 'The man destroyed the car.' | | | | | |

Following the analysis in Lefebvre and Massam (1988), and in Lumsden (1989) for Haitian, and the analysis in Brousseau and Lumsden (1990) for Fon, I will assume that in the context of a noun phrase the determiner heads a projection DP.² In a [-deictic] context as in (3), (4) and (5), the head of DP remains phonologically empty. Given the similarity between the determiner occurring in the context of a clause and the determiner occurring in the context of an NP, as shown above, I will assume that the determiner occurring in the context of a clause also heads a functional category. What is this functional category. There are several possibilities.

In the dialects under study (the southern Haitian dialect and Abomey/Cotonou Fon dialects), the clausal determiner is not the head of CP because it occurs within clauses which contain a lexical complementizer as in (7). In (7a), the clausal determiner occurs with a 'that' type complementizer and in (7b) it occurs with a [-realis] complementizer.³

- (7) a. M kwè (ke) li rive Pòtoprens la. HAITIAN
 Òn ò ò é wá Kútónù 5. FON
 I believe COMP he arrive P/K Det
 'I believe that he has arrived at P/K **as expected.**'
- b. M vle pou u vini an. HAITIAN
 Òn jló nú à ná wá 5. FON
 I want COMP you FUT come Det
 'I want you to come **as expected.**'

As is argued in Lefebvre (1991), the clausal determiner occurs within IP.⁴ It is thus part of the INFL system. One might think that the clausal determiner is like validational particles in languages such as Quechua. Validational particles are affixes or markers which give the speaker's point of view on an utterance. The hypothesis that the clausal determiner is akin to validational affixes is unlikely for the following reasons. (In discussing the properties of validational markers, I will use the analysis provided in Lefebvre and Muysken (1988) for Quechua.) First, while validational affixes of the type 'affirmative', 'hearsay', 'dubitative', 'interrogative' are mutually exclusive within a given clause, the clausal determiner of Haitian and Fon is not mutually exclusive with markers that are comparable in meaning with validational affixes. Second, validators are part of the INFL system and they bear the feature [+T]. This property accounts for the fact that they do not occur in [-T] clauses nor within NPs. Although, the clausal determiner is part of the INFL system, it cannot be defined by the feature [+T] because it occurs with NPs. Third, at LF, validators function as performative verbs. This accounts for the fact that they do not occur in non matrix clauses. In contrast, the clausal determiner may occur in non matrix clauses as in (7) which reflects the fact that it is not being interpreted as a performative verb at LF.

Languages with clausal determiners of the type presented by Haitian and Fon are in complementary distribution with languages with agreement in ϕ features. As can be observed from the examples in (1)-(7) the verb is not inflected for person, number, nor for gender. To the best of my knowledge, there is no language which presents both a clausal determiner of the type of that under study in this paper and agreement in ϕ features.

There are similarities between the properties of the clausal determiner and those of AGR in languages which present agreement in ϕ features. These similarities will be discussed below.

0.2. Theoretical issues

In recent literature on the decomposition of INFL (Pollock, 1989), it has been proposed that the features of agreement morphology (henceforth the ϕ features), and the features of Tense, each head a separate projection, AGR and T respectively. There are languages which do not exhibit agreement in ϕ features. This raises the question as to whether these languages have a functional category AGR. Kornfilt (1989), for example, shows that in contrast to Modern Turkish, Old Turkish does not exhibit agreement

phenomena in person and number. She proposes that the difference between the two grammars be expressed in terms of the presence of AGR in the former and the absence of this projection in the latter. Similarly, on the basis of the fact that Haitian Creole lacks agreement in person and number, Ritter (1991) suggests that Haitian Creole lacks the functional category AGR. In this paper, I demonstrate that there is ample motivation for positing AGR as a syntactic category in Haitian and in Fon. I argue that AGRP is headed by the clausal determiner defined by the feature [+deictic].

Chomsky (1989) (drawing on work by Pollock (1989) and Kayne (1989)) argues that there are two AGR positions in a tensed clause: AGRS, defined by the features corresponding to the morphology of agreement between a tensed verb and its subject, and AGRO, defined by the features corresponding to the morphology of agreement between a past participle, or a verb, and its object. I present three arguments showing that there are two syntactic positions, for the clausal determiner in Haitian and Fon: AGRS and AGRO. These arguments are based on agreement phenomena, the surface distribution of the clausal determiner with respect to negation, and interpretations related to the position of the clausal determiner within the clause.

The evidence presented in this paper supports the theoretical position that AGR is a universal syntactic category which is overtly manifested in all grammars. It is proposed that the feature [α deictic] should be added to the more familiar list of ϕ features (e.g. person, number, gender and Case). These features, and possibly a few others, constitute options offered by UG. While all languages exhibit AGR, they vary with respect to the feature(s) they select to define the head of the projection. Hence, the essential difference between French/English and Haitian/Fon types of languages, with respect to AGR, lies in the different features they select for agreement.

0.3. Organization of the paper

The paper is organized in the following way. In the first three sections of the paper, I present three arguments showing that there are two positions of the clausal determiner: AGRS and AGRO. In section 4, I show that agreement in deixis proceeds in the same way as other agreement phenomena, (through Spec-Head agreement). Moreover, I show that agreement in deixis yields the same surface configurations as other well known cases of agreement. In section 5, I show that the [+deictic] clausal determiner is in fact a determiner of events and that it expresses event deixis. In these languages, agreement phenomena thus reflects in a transparent way the structure of events. In section 6, I discuss the larger theoretical implications of the data and analysis proposed in this paper.

0.4. Theoretical assumptions

In arguing for my proposal, I will assume that the projections of functional categories conform to the revised format of the X' theory (e.g. Chomsky, 1986; 1989). All projections, minor as well as major, have the format in (8) (in which linear order is irrelevant).

$$(8) \quad X^{\max} = X''$$

$$X'' = Y'' X'$$

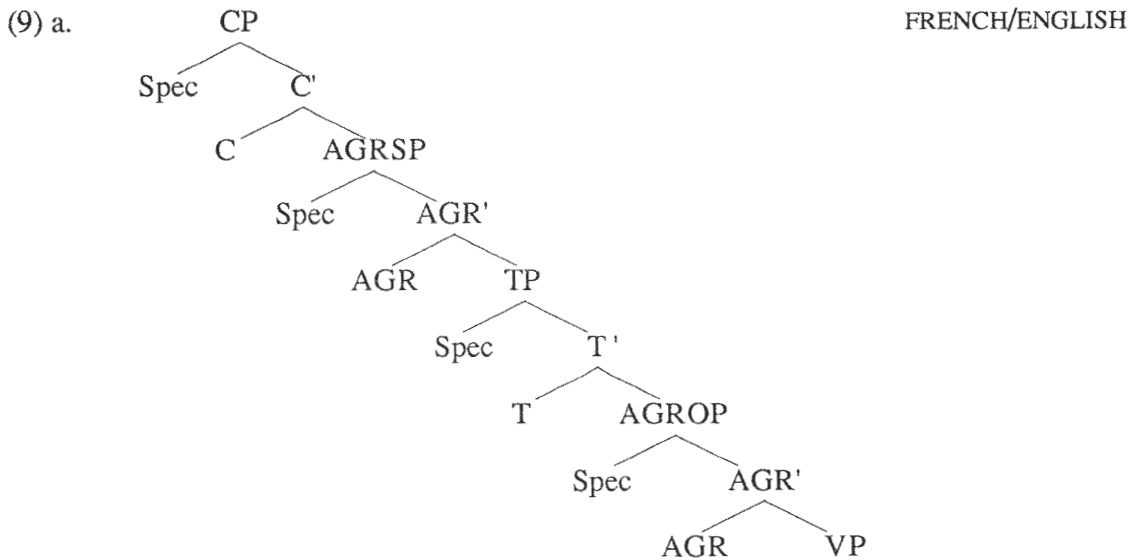
|
SPEC

$$X' = X Z''$$

|
COMPL

$X = [+/-N, +/-V], C, AGR, T, NEG, DET, \text{etc.}$

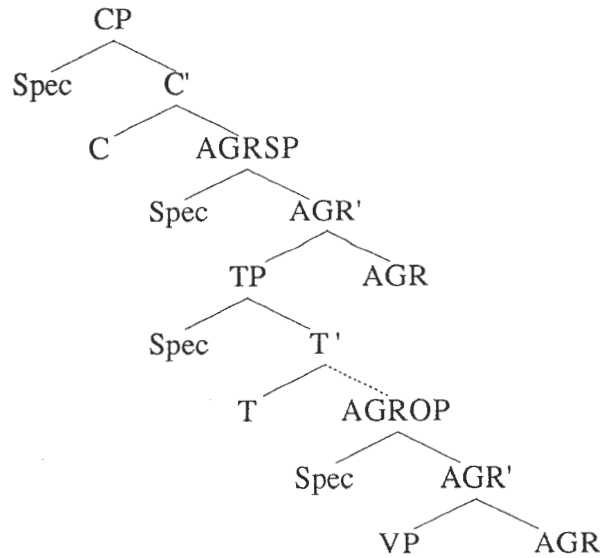
According to this format, the general structure of the clause for languages like French and English is as in (9a) (along the lines of Chomsky, 1989).



I will argue that a similar structure represents the clause in Haitian and Fon. Except for the fact that the projection of the clausal determiner is head final, the structure of the clause in Haitian and Fon is similar to the structure of the clause proposed for other languages. This is depicted in (9b).

(9) b.

HAITIAN/FON



1. Agreement facts

In this section, I show that the presence of the determiner within a clause is correlated with properties of the subject DP or with properties of the object DP. These facts suggest that the clausal determiner heads two independent syntactic positions: AGRSP and AGROP.

1.1 Agreement facts within AGRSP

In the context of a [-deictic] subject, the determiner cannot appear as head of AGRSP as is shown by the ungrammaticality of the sentences in (10) and (11). (In the examples, the DP which is pertinent to agreement is underlined. The clausal determiner appears in bold.)

- (10) a. * Yon moun detwi yon manchin **nan.** HAITIAN
 * Súnù dé gbà mótò dé **ś.** FON
 a man a destroy a car a Det
 [Lit. : 'A man destroyed a car, **as expected.**']

- b. * Yon moun fè yon tab la. HAITIAN
 * Súnù dé bló távò dé **ś.** FON
 a man a make a table a Det
 [Lit. : 'A man made a table **as expected.**']

- c. * Yon moun vòle yon manchin nan. HAITIAN
 * Súnù dé fin mótò dé ́. FON
 a man a steal a car a Det
 [Lit. : 'A man stole a car **as expected.**']
- d. * Yon moun bay yon ti-moun yon liv la. HAITIAN
 * Súnù dé ná vì dé wémà dé ́. FON
 a man a give a child a a book a Det
 [Lit. : 'A man gave a book to a child **as expected.**']
- (11) a. * Yon moun wè yon manchin nan. HAITIAN
 * Súnù dé mò mótò dé ́. FON
 a man a see a car a Det
 [Lit. : 'A man saw a car, **as expected.**']
- b. * Yon moun konpran fransè a. HAITIAN
 * Súnù dé sè flánsè ́. FON
 a man a understand French Det
 [Lit. : 'A man understood French **as expected.**']

In contrast, in the context of a [+deictic] subject, the determiner can appear as head of AGRSP. This is shown in (12) and (13).

- (12) a. Moun nan detwi yon manchin nan. HAITIAN
Súnù ́ gbà mótò dé ́. FON
 man Det destroy a car a Det
 'The man destroyed a car **as expected.**'
- b. Moun nan fè yon tab la. HAITIAN
Súnù ́ bló távò dé ́. FON
 man Det make a table a Det
 'The man made a table **as expected.**'
- c. Moun nan vòle yon manchin nan. HAITIAN
Súnù ́ fin mótò dé ́. FON
 man Det steal a car a Det
 'The man stole a car **as expected.**'
- d. Moun nan bay Mari yon liv la. HAITIAN
Súnù ́ ná Àsíbá wémà dé ́. FON
 man Det give M/A a book a Det
 'The man gave M/A a book **as expected.**'

- (13) a. Moun nan wè yon manchin nan. HAITIAN
Súnù ́ mò mótò dé ́. FON
man Det see a car a Det

'The man saw the car **as expected**.'

- b. Moun nan kompran fransè a. HAITIAN
Súnù ́ sè flánsè ́. FON
man Det understand French Det

'The man understood French **as expected**.'

The facts reported above show that there is agreement in deixis between the subject of the clause and the clausal determiner. This is evidence for the projection AGRSP.

1.2 Agreement facts within AGROP

Just as there is agreement within AGRSP, so there is agreement within AGROP. In the context of a [-deictic] object, the determiner cannot appear as head of AGROP as is shown by the ungrammaticality of (14) in which the object is [-deictic].

- (14) a. * Yon moun detwi yon manchin nan. HAITIAN
* Súnù dé gbà mótò dé ́. FON
a man a destroy a car a Det
[Lit. : 'A man destroyed a car **as expected**.']

- b. * Yon moun fè yon tab la. HAITIAN
* Súnù dé bló távò dé ́. FON
a man Det make a table a Det
[Lit. : 'A man made a table, **as expected**.']

- c. * Yon moun vòle yon manchin nan. HAITIAN
* Súnù dé fin mótò dé ́. FON
a man a steal a car a Det
[Lit. : 'A man stole a car **as expected**.']

- d. * Yon moun bay yon ti-moun liv la a. HAITIAN
* Súnù dé ná vĩ dé wémà ́ ́. FON
a man a give a child a book Det Det
[Lit. : 'A man gave a child the book **as expected**.']

In contrast, in the context of a [+deictic] object, the determiner can appear as head of AGROP.

- (15) a. Yon moun detwi manchin nan **an.** HAITIAN
 Súnù dé gbà mótò ó **ó.** FON
 a man a destroy car Det Det
 'A man destroyed the car, **as expected.**'
- b. Yon moun fè tab la **a.** HAITIAN
 Súnù dé bló távò ó **ó.** FON
 a man a make table Det Det
 'A man made the table **as expected.**'
- c. Yon moun vòle manchin nan **an.** HAITIAN
 Súnù dé fin mótò ó **ó.** FON
 a man a steal car Det Det
 'A man stole the car **as expected.**'
- d. Yon moun bay ti-moun nan yon liv **la.** HAITIAN
 Súnù dé ná vĩ ó wémà dé **ó.** FON
 a man a give child Det a book a Det
 'A man gave the child a book **as expected.**'

On the basis of the contrast in grammaticality between (14) and (15), one could be led to the conclusion that the presence of a [+deictic] object is sufficient to allow for the determiner to appear as head of AGROP. This is not the case, however. Consider the sentences in (16) in which the object is [+deictic] and yet the presence of the clausal determiner in head of AGROP still yields ungrammatical sentences.

- (16) a. * Yon moun wè manchin nan **an.** HAITIAN
 * Súnù dé mò mótò ò **ó.** FON
 a man a see car Det Det
 [Lit. : 'A man saw the car **as expected.**']
- b. * Yon moun konpran fransè **a.** HAITIAN
 * Súnù dé sè flánsè **ó.** FON
 a man a understand French Det
 [Lit. : 'A man understood French **as expected.**']

How can the difference in grammaticality between the sentences in (15) and those in (16) be accounted for? Crucially, the objects of the verbs in (15) (e.g. 'destroy', 'make', 'steal', 'give') are affected objects. They delimit the event denoted by the verb (cf. Tenny, 1987). In contrast, the objects of the verbs in (16), (e.g. 'see', 'understand') are not affected objects, and hence, they do not delimit the event. The minimal difference between the data in (15) and the data in (16) thus appears to be that in the latter case, there is an argument which delimits the event, where in the former, there is not. This correspondance is further

supported by the following fact. In a clause containing an affectedness verb like 'give', but in which the delimiting argument for such a verb (the goal), is not overtly manifested, the clausal determiner is not permitted. This holds even in the context of [+deictic] theme, as is shown by the ungrammaticality of (17).

- (17) * Yon moun te bay [liv la] a. HAITIAN
 * Súnù dé kó ná [wèmá ɔ] ɔ. FON
 A man a T give book Det Det
 [Lit.: 'A man gave the book as expected.']

The contrast in grammaticality between the sentences in (14), where the affected object is [–deictic], and the sentences in (15) where the affected object is [+deictic], shows that there is agreement in deixis between the delimiting argument and the head of AGROP. This is evidence for the projection AGROP.

1.3. Summary

The fact that the projection headed by the clausal determiner constitutes an agreement domain provides strong evidence for the proposal that the clausal determiner is the head of AGRP. Furthermore, the fact that there are two agreement domains shows that there are two syntactic positions for the clausal determiner: AGRS and AGRO. The sentences in (12) exhibit agreement in deixis between a [+deictic] subject and the head of AGRSP. Notice that in these sentences the affected object is [–deictic]. The sentences in (15) exhibit agreement in deixis between a [+deictic] affected object and the head of AGROP. In these sentences, the subject is [–deictic]. Furthermore, while agreement involving the external argument of the clause may occur in the context of both affectedness and non-affectedness predicates, as in (12) and (13) respectively, agreement involving the internal argument, is restricted to affectedness predicates as is shown by the ungrammaticality of the sentences in (16). These agreement facts follow from the proposal that there are two positions for the clausal determiner and hence two distinct domains of agreement: AGRSP and AGROP. Under an analysis where there would be only one syntactic position for the clausal determiner it would be impossible to account for the agreement facts associated with each projection.

2. The clausal determiner in the context of negation

The Fon data involving the distribution of the clausal determiner in the context of negation provide further evidence that there are two syntactic positions for the clausal determiner. Indeed, in this context, the two positions for the clausal determiner are directly visible in the distribution of functional lexical items at surface structure. I begin with a brief introduction on the functional category NEG in this language.

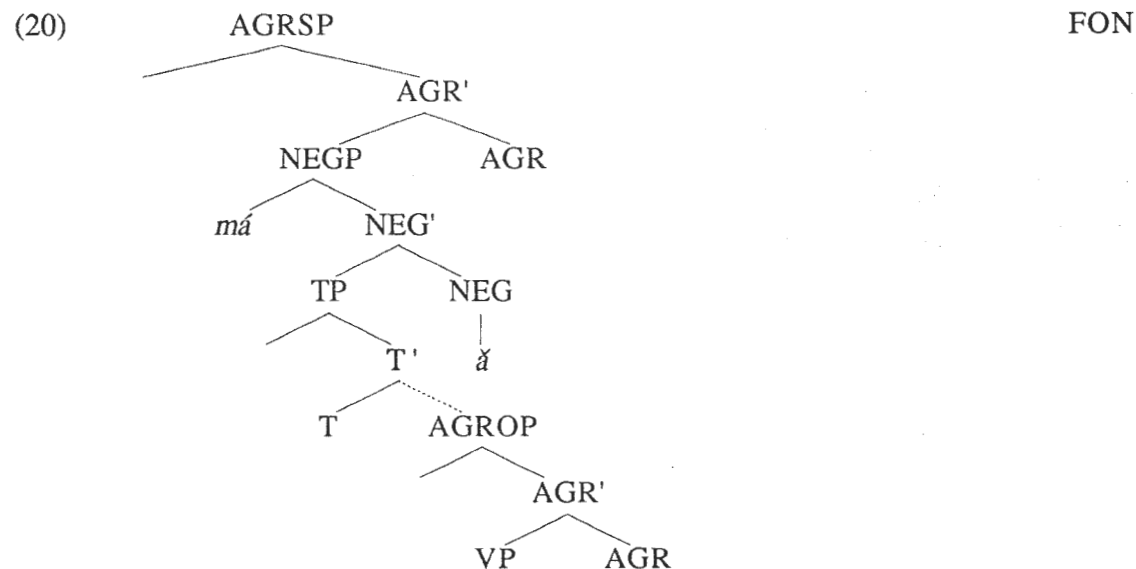
2.1. The functional category NEG in Fon

Fon exhibits a pattern of negation similar to French 'ne...pas', composed of a negation particle *ǎ* (like 'ne') and a negative adverbial *má/(kún)* (like 'pas'). In main clauses, the negation adverbial is not always manifested (cf. Da Cruz, in preparation). The sentences in (18) and (19) exemplify negation in matrix and in subordinate clauses respectively.

- (18) Kòkú wá ǎ. FON
Koku arrive NEG
'Koku has not arrived.'

- (19) Ñ òò òò Kòkú má wá ǎ. FON
I believe that Koku not arrive NEG
'I believe that Koku has not arrived.'

Following Pollock's (1989) analysis of negation for French, I will assume that negation particles fill the head of NEGP and that the negation adverbials appear in the specifier position of this projection. Hence, I will assume that, like French 'ne', *ǎ/ó* in Fon head NEGP, and that, like French 'pas', the negation adverbials *má/kún* occupy the specifier position of NEGP. Pending further research on negation in this language, I will assume that NEGP dominates TP. With respect to the topic discussed in this paper, nothing hinges on this assumption. The structure of the clause is then as in (20).⁵



There are two surface positions for the determiner in Fon with respect to the negation particle heading NEGP. The determiner may follow the negation particle, as in (21), or it may precede it as in (22).

- (21) Súnù ó fin mótò ó ǎ 5. FON
man Det steal car Det NEG Det
'The man did not steal the car as **expected**'.

- (22) Súnù ́ fín mótò ́ ́ ă. FON
 man Det steal car Det Det NEG
 'The man did not steal the car **as expected**.'

Under the assumption that the structure in (20) represents correctly the structure of the Fon clause, it follows that, when the determiner follows the negation particle it is the head of AGRSP, and when it precedes it, it is the head of AGROP. This is supported by agreement facts.

2.2. Agreement facts in the context of negation

When the determiner follows the negation particle, it can only occur in the context of a [+deictic] subject as is shown by the contrast in grammaticality between (23a) and (23b).

- (23) a. * Súnù ǎ fín mótò ́ ă ́. FON
 man a steal car Det NEG Det
 [Litt.: 'A man did not steal the car **as expected**.']

- b. Súnù ́ fín mótò ́ ă ́. FON
 man Det steal car Det NEG Det
 'The man did not steal the car **as expected**.'

The clausal determiner may occur in this position in the context of both an affectedness verb as in (23b) or of a non-affectedness predicate as in (24).

- (24) Súnù ́ mò mótò ǎ ́. FON
 man Det see car a NEG Det
 'The man did not see a car **as expected**.'

When the determiner precedes negation, it can only occur in the context of a [+deictic] affected object as can be seen by the contrast in grammaticality between (25a) and (25b).

- (25) a. * Súnù ǎ fín mótò ǎ ́ ă. FON
 Man a steal car a Det NEG
 [Lit.: 'A man did not steal a car **as expected**.']

- b. Súnù ǎ fín mótò ́ ́ ă. FON
 Man a steal car Det Det NEG
 'A man did not steal the car **as expected**.'

In this position, the determiner cannot occur in the context of a non affected object, even if the latter is [+deictic].

- (26) * Súnù dẹ mò mótò ó ó ă. FON
 man a see car Det Det NEG
 [Lit.: 'A man did not see the car **as expected**.']

2.3. Summary

The Fon data discussed in this section show that when the determiner follows the head of NEGP the agreement facts parallel those associated with the external argument of the clause (cf. section 1.1). Similarly, when the determiner precedes the head of NEGP, the agreement facts parallel those associated with the internal argument of the clause (cf. section 1.2). The surface distribution of the determiner with respect to the negation particle thus further supports the proposal that there are two independently motivated positions for the clausal determiner: AGRS and AGRO.

3. Interpretations

We saw that the presence of the clausal determiner yields an interpretation of the clause in which old information is assumed to be shared by the participants in the interaction. I have rendered this interpretation by 'as we knew/expected'. In this section, I explore in more detail the content of what is being interpreted or understood as part of shared knowledge or expectation. I show that what is interpreted as being part of shared knowledge or expectation, is correlated with position of the determiner in the syntactic structure. These facts provide a third argument for the proposal that there are two syntactic positions for the clausal determiner in Haitian and in Fon.

3.1. When the determiner heads AGRSP

When the determiner occurs as head of AGRSP the whole clause is understood as being part of shared knowledge, as is shown in (27) (=12) and (28) (=13)). (In the examples, the portion of the clause which is assumed to be part of shared knowledge is underlined).

- (27) a. Moun nan detwi yon manchin nan. HAITIAN
 Súnù ó gbà mótò dẹ ó. FON
 man Det destroy a car a Det
 'The man destroyed a car **as expected** he would.'
- b. Moun nan fè yon tab la. HAITIAN
 Súnù ó bló távò dẹ ó. FON
 man Det make a table a Det
 'The man made a table **as expected** he would.'

- c.

Moun	nan	vòle	yon	manchin	nan.	HAITIAN
Súnù	ó	fin		mótò	dé	FON
man	Det	steal	a	car	a	Det

'The man stole a car **as expected** he would.'
- d.

Moun	nan	bay	Mari	yon	liv	la.	HAITIAN
Súnù	ó	ná	Àsíbá		wémà	dé	FON
man	Det	give	M/A	a	book	a	Det

'The man gave M./A. a book, **as expected** he would.'
- (28) a.

Moun	nan	wè	yon	manchin	nan.	HAITIAN
Súnù	ó	mò		mótò	dé	FON
man	Det	see	a	car	a	Det

'The man saw the car **as expected** he would.'
- b.

Moun	nan	konpran	fransè	a.	HAITIAN
Súnù	ó	sè	flansè	ó.	FON
man	Det	understand	French	Det	

'The man understood French **as expected** he would.'

Hence, when the determiner occurs as head of AGRSP, the information conveyed by the whole clause is understood as being part of shared knowledge.

3.2. When the determiner heads AGROP

When the determiner occurs as head of AGROP, what is considered to be part of shared knowledge is a more restricted portion of the clause. Consider the interpretation of the sentences in (29) (= (15)). In (a), (b) and (c) 'shared knowledge' includes the delimiter and the predicate. In (d), which presents a case of double object verb, 'shared knowledge' includes the delimiter, the other internal argument and the predicate. In all four cases, the external argument is excluded from what is understood as being part of shared knowledge. This follows from the fact that as head of AGROP, the determiner has a narrower scope than when it heads AGRSP.

- (29) a.

Yon	moun	detwi	manchin	nan	an.	HAITIAN
	Súnù	dé	gbà	mótò	ó	FON
a	man	a	destroy	car	Det	Det

'A man destroyed the car, **as expected** the car would be destroyed.'

- b. Yon moun fè tab la a. HAITIAN
 Súnù dè bló távò ́ ́. FON
 a man a make table Det Det
 'A man made the table **as expected** the table would be made.'
- c. Yon moun vòle manchin nan an. HAITIAN
 Súnù dè fin móto ́ ́. FON
 a man a steal car Det Det
 'A man stole the car **as expected** the car would be stolen.'
- d. Yon moun bay ti-moun nan yon liv la. HAITIAN
 Súnù dè ná vǐ ́ wémà dè ́. FON
 a man a give child Det a book a Det
 'A man gave the child a book **as expected** the child would be given a book.'

Hence, when the determiner occurs as head of AGROP, what is understood as being part of shared knowledge is restricted to the predicate and the internal arguments.

3.3. Interpretations in the context of negation

In section 2.2., we saw that in Fon, when the determiner follows negation and hence agrees with the subject of the clause, the negation is included in what is assumed to be part of shared knowledge or expectation. This is shown in (30) (=23b).

- (30) Súnù ́ fin móto ́ ǎ ́. FON
 man Det steal car Det NEG Det
 'The man did not steal the car **as expected** he would not.'

When the determiner precedes the negation particle, hence agreeing with the delimiting object, negation is not included as part of known information. In contrast with (30) above (where negation is included as part of shared knowledge), the interpretation of (31) (=25b) excludes negation as is shown in the translation. As is the case for the sentences in (29), the interpretation in (31) also excludes the external argument.

- (31) Súnù dè fin móto ́ ́ ǎ. FON
 Man a steal car Det Det NEG
 'A man did not steal the car **as expected** the car would be stolen.'

In Haitian, the head of NEGP is phonologically null (cf. footnote 5) and hence, the distribution discussed for Fon is not directly visible in this language. The data presented below, however, show that the same interpretive facts obtain.

Consider the negative sentence (32) which contains a [+deictic] subject, a [+deictic] delimiting argument and a clausal determiner. According to the discussion on agreement in section 1, the clausal determiner in (32) may be assigned either to AGRS or AGRO. It is

permitted in both positions since both relevant arguments are [+deictic]. Consequently, (32) should be ambiguous with respect to what is presupposed as being part of shared knowledge/expectation. It should be possible to assign (32) either a wide scope or a narrow scope interpretation. This is exactly what we find. The clause in (32) may be assigned an interpretation in which the determiner has scope over negation, (32a), and an interpretation in which the determiner does not have scope over negation, (32b).

- (32) Nèg la pa vòle manchin nan an. HAITIAN
 man Det not steal car Det Det
 a. 'The man did not steal the car **as expected** he would not.'
- b. 'The man did not steal the car **as expected** the car would be stolen.'

In the context of an [-deictic] subject, the (a) interpretation does not obtain.

- (33) Yon nèg pa vòle manchin nan an. HAITIAN
 a man not steal car Det Det
 *[Lit.: 'A man did not steal the car **as expected** he would not .']

In the context of a [-deictic] affected argument the (b) interpretation does not obtain.

- (34) Nèg la pa vòle yon manchin nan. HAITIAN
 man Det not steal a car Det
 *[Lit.: 'A man did not steal a car **as expected** a car would be stolen .']

These interpretive facts follow from the analysis that there are two AGR positions for the determiner. The (a) interpretation in (32) follows from the structure where the clausal determiner heads AGRSP, and the (b) interpretation follows from the structure where the determiner heads AGROP.

3.4. Summary

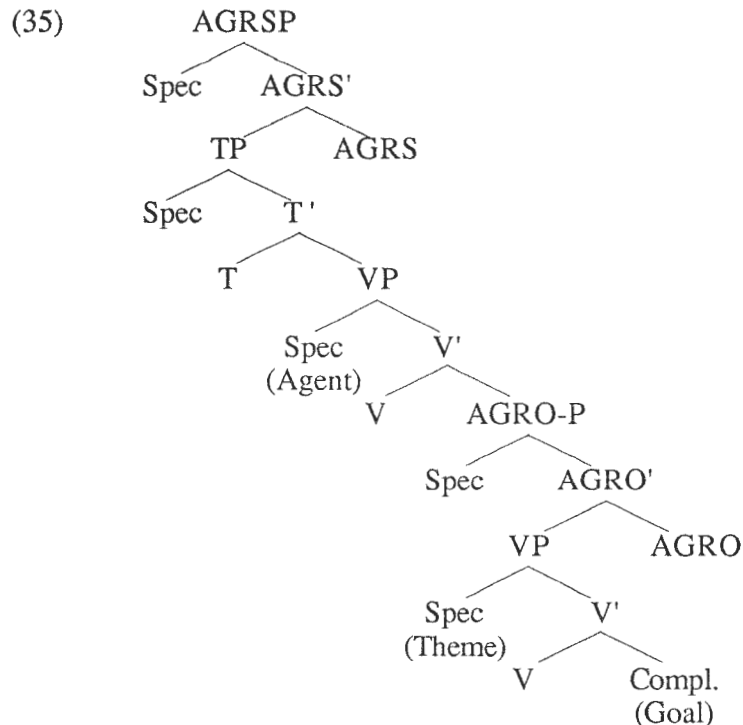
The two interpretations described in this section follow if there are two positions for the clausal determiner. These data constitute a third argument for the proposal that there are two positions for the clausal determiner.

4. Agreement in deixis

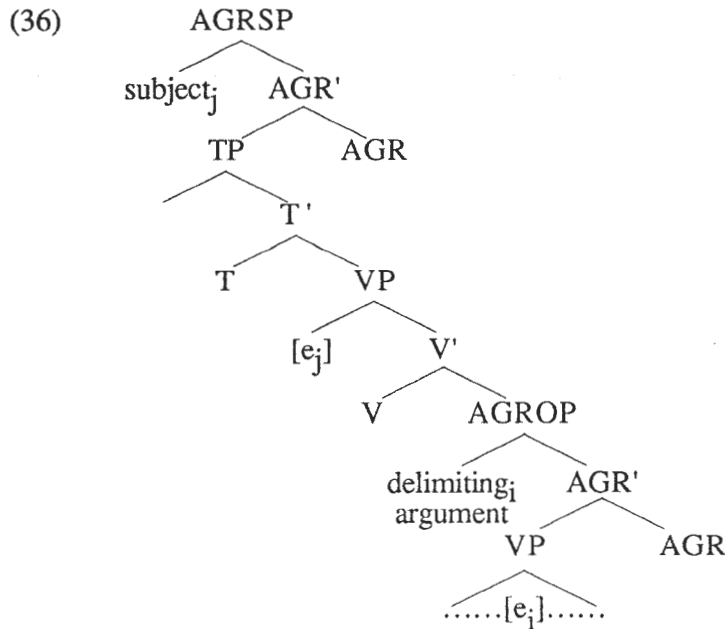
In the first three sections of this paper, I presented three arguments showing that there are two positions for the clausal determiner in Haitian and in Fon: two clusters of agreement facts, two positions for the clausal determiner in the context of negation and two interpretations. In this section I show that agreement in deixis may be accounted for by the same mechanism which accounts for agreement in ϕ features, that is, by Spec-Head agreement. Then, I discuss agreement in deixis with respect to agreement in ϕ features.

4.1. Spec-Head agreement

In discussing Spec-Head agreement in deixis, I will assume that the structure of the clause in Haitian and in Fon is as in (35).⁶ The position of AGROP within the VP is argued for in Lefebvre (in press) on the basis of word order.⁷



In Haitian and Fon, agreement is defined solely in terms of the feature $[\alpha \text{ deictic}]$.⁸ Following Chomsky (1989, and the references therein), I assume that agreement facts are accounted for by Spec-Head agreement. I also assume that by S-Structure, the subject of the clause will have moved from its D-Structure position within the VP (cf. Kitagawa, 1986; Kuroda, 1988; Speas, 1986; Koopman and Sportiche, 1985, 1988) to Spec of AGRSP, as is illustrated in structure (36). By S-Structure, the delimiting argument will have moved from its basic position to the specifier position of AGROP.



At S-Structure, both projections of AGR thus contain a DP in their specifier position.⁹ Hence, at S-Structure, the two AGR projections exhibit an appropriate configuration for Spec-Head agreement.

4.2. Agreement in deixis and agreement in ϕ features

The variable α in $[\alpha \text{ deictic}]$ can be assigned two values: $[+\text{deictic}]$ which is realized by the determiner, and $[-\text{deictic}]$ which is phonologically null (cf. section 0.2.). Hence, the determiner does not surface in every DET nor every AGR position. The possible surface combinations of values for the feature $[\alpha \text{ deictic}]$ for pairs of DP (subject or delimiter) and AGR (AGRS or AGRO) are represented in (37).

(37)

	AGRSP			AGROP	
	<i>specifier</i>	<i>head</i>		<i>specifier</i>	<i>head</i>
a.	+deictic	+deictic		+deictic	+deictic
b.	-deictic	-deictic		-deictic	-deictic
c.	* -deictic	+deictic	*	-deictic	+deictic
d.	+deictic	-deictic		+ deictic	-deictic

These four possibilities are exhibit in (38) and (39) for AGRSP and AGROP respectively.

(38) a.

Moun	nan	detwi	yon	manchin	nan.	HAITIAN
Súnù	ó	gbà		mótò	dé	ó.
man	Det	destroy	a	car	a	Det

'The man destroyed a car as expected.'

- b. Yon moun detwi yon manchin ø. HAITIAN
 Súnù dẹ gbà mótò dẹ ø. FON
 a man a destroy a car a Det
 'A man destroyed a car.'
- c. * Yon moun detwi yon manchin nan. HAITIAN
 * Súnù dẹ gbà mótò dẹ ́. FON
 a man a destroy a car a Det
 [Lit. : 'A man destroyed a car, **as expected.**']
- d. Moun nan detwi yon manchin ø. HAITIAN
 Súnù ́ gbà mótò dẹ ø. FON
 man Det destroy a car a Det
 'The man destroyed a car.'
- (39) a. Yon moun detwi manchin nan an. HAITIAN
 Súnù dẹ gbà mótò ́ ́. FON
 a man a destroy car Det Det
 'A man destroyed the car **as expected.**'
- b. Yon moun detwi yon manchin ø. HAITIAN
 Súnù dẹ gbà mótò dẹ ø. FON
 a man a destroy a car a Det
 'A man destroyed a car.'
- c. * Yon moun detwi yon manchin nan. HAITIAN
 * Súnù dẹ gbà mótò dẹ ́. FON
 a man a destroy a car a Det
 [Lit. : 'A man destroyed a car **as expected.**']
- d. Yon moun detwi manchin nan ø. HAITIAN
 Súnù dẹ gbà mótò ́ ø. FON
 a man a destroy car Det Det
 'A man destroyed the car.'

In (a) and (b) of (38) and (39), the feature specification of the DP in Spec of AGRP and the feature specification of the head are the same. The data in (c) and (d) show that, when the feature specification of the DP in Spec of AGRP and the feature specification of the head are not the same, the only grammatical configuration is the one where the DP in Spec of the projection is positively specified for deixis. While (d) is grammatical, (c) is not. It is notable that the surface configurations found as a result of agreement in deixis (cf. (37)) parallel those found in languages exhibiting agreement in ϕ features. The

matching configurations in (a) and (b) represent the classic cases. The possibility for heads to be less specified for a given feature than the DP it is agreeing with, as in configuration (d), is a widespread phenomenon in languages of the world. Similar facts involving gender agreement are reported for Hebrew (cf. Ritter, 1991); similar facts involving number agreement in Quechua are reported in Lefebvre and Dubuisson (1977) and Lefebvre (1981). To the best of my knowledge the non matching configuration where the head is more specified than the DP it is agreeing with, as in configuration (c), has not been observed. Agreement in deixis thus appears to produce the same surface patterns as agreement in ϕ features.

The observed agreement facts follow directly if Spec must agree with the head of the projection (and not vice versa) and if features are allowed to be underspecified (e. g. Archangeli, 1984; Pulleyblank, 1983; Lumsden, 1987). [+ deictic] must be the marked value since it has a marked interpretation. Thus, if AGR is [+ deictic] then the specifier must be [+ deictic], yielding the surface configuration in (37a). If AGR is **not** [+ deictic] it is unspecified for deixis at D-Structure. So, the specifier can be either [+/-deictic]. This yields the surface configurations (37d, b). On this analysis the impossible configuration in (37c) will never be generated.

In languages which present overt agreement in ϕ features, there appears to be a relationship between specificity/definiteness and agreement. In Chaha, an Ethiopian language which exhibits agreement in person, number, and gender between a verb and its object, there is no agreement morphology on the verb when the object is [-specific] (cf. Rose and Petros, in preparation). This is illustrated in (40).

- (40) a. $\dot{a}c\dot{a}$ $s\dot{a}p\dot{a}r$ -x\dot{a} -m. / * $s\dot{a}p\dot{a}r$ -x^w\dot{a} -n -m. CHAHA
 wood chop 2SMS PA chop 2SMS A3MSO -PA
 'You chopped wood.'
- b. $\dot{a}c\dot{a}$ xut\dot{a} $s\dot{a}p\dot{a}r$ -x^w\dot{a} -n -m. CHAHA
 wood DÉF. chop 2SMS A3MSO -PA
 'You chopped the wood.'

Similarly, as is reported by Mahajan (1990), there is no object agreement marker on the verb in Hindi when the object is [-specific]. In Quechua, there is no plural morpheme on the verb when the subject is [-specific] as is shown in (41).

- (41) a. wasi -kuna kapu -n. QUECHUA
 house PL fall 3
 'Houses fell.'
- b. wasi -kuna kapu -n -ku. QUECHUA
 house PL fall 3 PL
 'The houses fell.'

Hence, the phonologically null agreement markers in the context of a [–specific] argument in the three cases reported above are akin to the phonologically null determiner in Haitian and Fon.

4.3. Summary

In this section, I have shown that agreement in deixis can be accounted for in the same way as other cases of agreement, that is through Spec-Head agreement. The surface configurations exhibited by agreement in deixis parallel those found in other languages which exhibit agreement in ϕ features. This shows that agreement in deixis is not substantially different from agreement in ϕ features.¹⁰

5. The structure of agreement and the structure of event

Being defined by the feature [+ deictic] the clausal determiner is a deictic term. As do other deictic terms, such as 'this/that', 'here/there', the clausal determiner has the property of 'pointing at' an object. Crucially, the clausal determiner points either at the subject or at the (delimiting) object. These are the arguments which mark the beginning point and the endpoint of an event respectively. I will argue that clausal deixis is linked to the interpretation of the event of the clause.

5.1. Deixis reference

When the determiner heads AGRSP, the subject is being pointed at. There is emphasis on the subject, an interpretation which is rendered in the translation by emphasis on the subject. In this case, deixis reference is subject oriented.

- (42) Moun nan detwi yon manchin **nan.** HAITIAN
 Súnù ́ gbà mótò ǵé ́. FON
 man Det destroy a car a Det
 'The man destroyed a car as expected he would.'

Similarly, when the determiner heads AGROP, the delimiting object is being pointed at. There is emphasis on the delimiting argument. Deixis reference is delimiter oriented.

- (43) Yon moun detwi manchin nan **an.** HAITIAN
 Súnù ǵé gbà mótò ́ ́. FON
 a man a destroy car Det Det
 'A man destroyed the car, as expected the car would be destroyed.'

Van Voorst (1988) has proposed that while the subject of the clause marks the object of origin of an event, the object of the clause (here the delimiting argument) marks

the object of termination of an event. On this view, the clausal determiner of Haitian and Fon may be interpreted as pointing at the beginning point of an event when it heads AGRSP, or as pointing at the end point of an event, when it heads AGROP. The clausal determiner is thus a determiner of event and it expresses event deixis.

5.2. Event deixis

This property of the clausal determiner accounts for the following facts. First, it accounts for the fact that non-delimiting arguments never move to Spec of AGROP. Non-delimiting arguments are not involved in event deixis and hence they cannot be in a Spec-Head relationship with an event deictic term.

Second, the fact that the clausal determiner expresses event deixis also accounts for the fact that the clausal determiner does not occur in [-T] clauses. The ungrammatical sentences in (44) exhibit an overt determiner in the context of a [-T] clause.

- (44) * Yon moun vle detwi manchin nan an. HAITIAN
 * Súnù dé jló ná gbà mótò ó ó. FON
 a man a want to destroy car Det Det
 [Lit. : 'A man wants to destroy the car **as expected.**']

This contrasts with the grammaticality of the corresponding [+T] clauses in (45).

- (45) Yon moun vle pou Jan detwi manchin nan an. HAITIAN
 Súnù dé jló dè Kòkú ni gbà mótò ó ó. FON
 a man a want that J/K T destroy car Det Det
 'A man wants J/K to destroy the car **as expected he would.**'
 or 'A man wants J/K to destroy the car **as expected the car would be destroyed.**'

Only referential expressions can be specified by a deictic term. Finite clauses are temporal R-expressions (cf. Chomsky, 1981). This property allows them to be the object of a deictic term, the clausal determiner (cf. (45)). Conversely non finite clauses are not referential and hence, they cannot be the object of a deictic term (cf. (44)).

Third, it provides an account of the fact that there can be only one lexically filled AGR per clause, as is shown by the ungrammaticality of (46) in which the two AGR positions are lexically filled.

- (46) * Moun nan pa vòle manchin nan an an. HAITIAN
 * Súnù ó fin mótò ó ó ă ó. FON
 man Det not steal car Det Det NEG Det
 [Lit.: 'The man did not steal the car **as expected he would not / as expected the car would be stolen.**']

Since AGRSP has scope over the whole clause as was shown in section 3, the presence of the clausal determiner in both AGR positions within the same clause would be redundant.

5.3. Summary

The data introduced in this section show that the clausal determiner is in fact a determiner of event. Through agreement, it identifies the argument which marks the beginning point of the event, or the argument which marks the endpoint of the event. The structure of agreement in deixis thus reflects in a transparent way the structure of event.

Two clusters of properties associated with the projections headed by the clausal determiner emerge from the data discussed in this paper. The properties associated with the determiner as head of AGRSP are summarized in (47).

- (47)
- a. Agreement in deixis between the subject of the clause and the clausal determiner as head of AGRSP;
 - b. Agreement is not restricted to a particular type of subjects nor to a particular type of predicates;¹¹
 - c. As head of AGRSP, the clausal determiner induces a wide scope interpretation of what is understood as being part of shared knowledge: the whole clause is included in this interpretation;
 - d. Deixis reference is subject oriented;
 - e. The clausal determiner does not occur as head of AGRSP in the context of a [-T] clause.

The properties associated with the determiner as head of AGROP are summarized in (48).

- (48)
- a. Agreement in deixis between the delimiter of the clause and the clausal determiner as head of AGROP;
 - b. Agreement phenomena are restricted to affected objects and hence to affectedness predicates;¹²
 - c. As head of AGROP the clausal determiner induces a narrow scope interpretation of what is understood as being part of shared knowledge or expectation: only the internal arguments and the predicate are included in this interpretation;
 - d. Deixis reference is delimiter oriented;
 - e. The clausal determiner does not occur as head of AGROP in the context of a [-T] clause.

6.0. Theoretical Consequences

The facts presented throughout this paper show a striking parallelism between AGR in languages like French and English and the projection headed by the clausal determiner in Haitian and Fon. I have presented three arguments supporting the proposal that there are two independently motivated positions for the clausal determiner: 1) two sets of agreement facts, 2) two surface positions with respect to negation particle, and 3) two interpretations which follow from the scope of the clausal determiner. In Haitian and Fon, as well as in French and English, the two projections of AGR constitute two independent domains of agreement and the presence of lexical material in the head of the projection is sensitive to the finite character of the clause.

Hence, Haitian and Fon do not lack agreement. It is simply that in these languages, the feature which is pertinent to agreement is different from the features which are pertinent to agreement in French and in English. Moreover, agreement in deixis was shown to proceed in the same way as in languages where agreement is defined with respect to ϕ features, that is through Spec-Head agreement.

An analysis holding that the clausal determiner is not AGR in Haitian/Fon imposes a burden on the account of language acquisition. Under such an analysis, the Haitian/Fon child would have to figure out whether his language has AGR or not. This decision making process leads him to the conclusion that his language does not have AGR but some other functional category. Which one? Why two positions? Why agreement within these projections? Why agreement with the delimiter? Why is it that the determiner does not occur in [-T] clauses? If, however, we posit that the clausal determiner heads AGR, it reduces the account of language acquisition. AGR is given by universal grammar. The Haitian/Fon child only has to figure out the feature(s) of the head on the basis of the morphology available in his language. When he has discovered that AGR is specified for the feature [+deictic], he immediately knows that there are two positions for the clausal determiner and that agreement proceeds according to the feature he has identified.

The facts reported on in this paper strongly support the claim in Chomsky (1989) that AGR is a universal syntactic head. Furthermore, they suggest that AGR should be available in all grammars and that the position should be lexicalized, at least in some instances.

The discovery that agreement within the projections of AGR may be defined with respect to the syntactic feature [α deixis] adds one more feature to the inventory of features known to participate in agreement within the clause in natural language. Agreement in person and number is a well known case, characterizing Romance and Germanic languages, Amerindian languages, etc. Agreement in gender is found in Hebrew (cf. Ritter, 1991), and in several African languages (e.g. agreement in nominal classes). Haitian and Fon offer a fourth possibility in exhibiting agreement in deixis. I will assume that these four features, and possibly a few others, constitute options offered by UG. Presumably, languages would select some but not all of these features. Hence, while all languages would exhibit AGR, they will vary with respect to the feature(s) they select to define the head of the projection.

The analysis presented in this paper provides independent evidence for various proposals concerned with the structure of the clause. First, this paper provides strong evidence for Pollock's (1989) proposal concerning the decomposition of INFL into two distinct positions. In Haitian and in Fon, the head of TP cannot be morphologically associated with the head of AGRP, the former being head initial and the latter being head final. The data presented in this paper clearly call for two distinct positions: AGR and T. Second, the data presented in this paper provide strong evidence for Chomsky's (1989) proposal that there are two AGR positions within the clause: in Haitian and in Fon there are two distinct domains of agreement: AGRSP and AGROP. Third, the Haitian and Fon data provide evidence that AGROP is embedded within the VP. This supports a similar proposal independently motivated in Travis (in preparation).

Notes

- * An earlier version of this paper was presented at UQAM in February 1991 and at MIT in April 1991. I want to thank the participants to both seminars for their comments. I want to thank my Haitian informants Jean-Robert Placide and Ange-Marie Clerjeune and my Fon informants Irénée Fandohan and Maxime DaCruz for providing me with the data base discussed in this paper. I would like to thank the members of the 'groupe de recherche sur la genèse du créole haïtien' (UQAM) for their comments on presentations related to the topic discussed in this paper. Many thanks to Denis Bouchard, Anne-Marie Brousseau, Elizabeth Cowper, Mohamed Guerssel, Ken Hale, Richard Larson, John Lumsden, Diane Massam, Elizabeth Ritter, Ur Schlonsky and Lisa Travis for their useful comments on an earlier version. Thanks to Monique Poulin for her help in formatting the manuscript. The present work is realized within the context of the Haitian project at UQAM. The project is financed by grants from CRSH, FCAR and PAFAC (UQAM).

1. There is a lot of variation among speakers with respect to this surface filter. For some Haitian speakers the filter applies to any two contiguous determiners (cf. Lefebvre, 1982). For other speakers, the filter applies when two contiguous determiners appear with the same number specification and it does not apply in the context where determiners appear with different number specifications (cf. Lumsden, 1989). Finally for another group of speakers, the filter applies only when two consecutive determiners have the same phonological shape. For Fon, no extensive study of this phenomenon has been conducted as yet. In the course of doing fieldwork in Bénin (November 1989, August 1990), I noticed that the patterns found for Fon speakers of Cotonou are parallel to those found for Haitian speakers. Speakers from Abomey, however, do not seem to have that filter since they accept and produce several determiners in a row, regardless of their number specification and phonological form.
2. Following the analysis in Ritter (1991) I will assume that DET takes NUM(ber)P as its complement and that the surface order Det- PL, illustrated in (i) is obtained by head movement (the plural morpheme adjoins to the head of DP).

(i)	ti-moun	nan	yo	HAITIAN
	vì	ó	léé	FON
	child	Det	PL	
	'The children (that we know of).'			

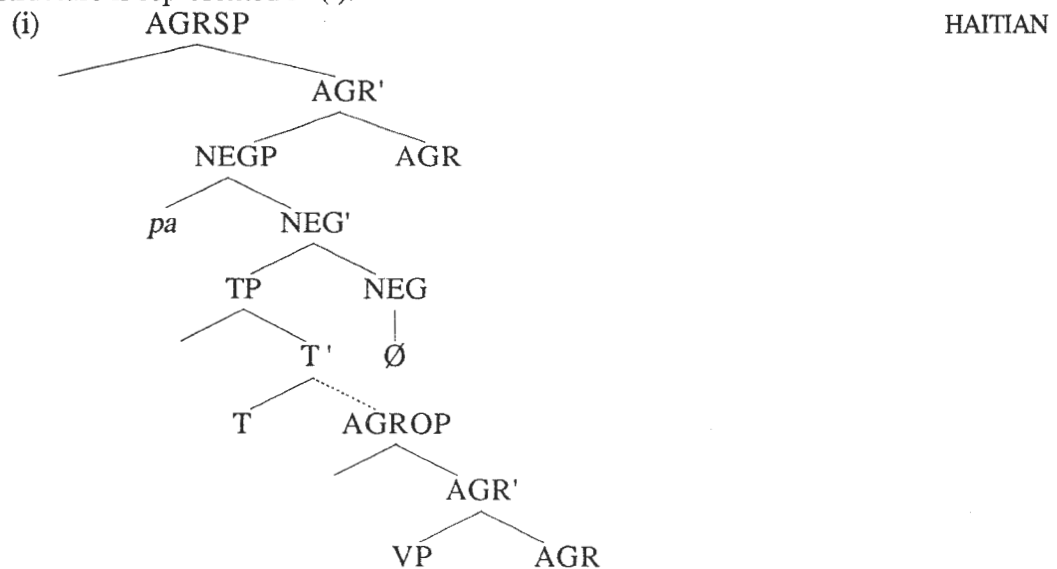
In the context of a plural marker, the determiner is not obligatorily overtly manifested at Surface Structure as is shown in (ii) from Lefebvre (1986):

(ii)	ti-moun	yo	HAITIAN
	vì	léé	FON
	child	PL	
	'The children (that we know of)'		

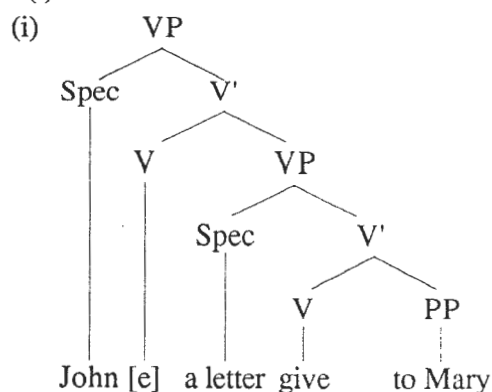
3. Cf. Lefebvre (1982), Lefebvre (1986) and Lefebvre and Massam (1988) where it is shown that the clausal determiner may occur in a wide range of matrix clauses,

(e.g. declarative, interrogative, direct questions) and subordinate clauses (e.g. indirect questions, relative clauses, adverbial clauses). Comparable Fon data were collected during the summer of 1990 in Benin.

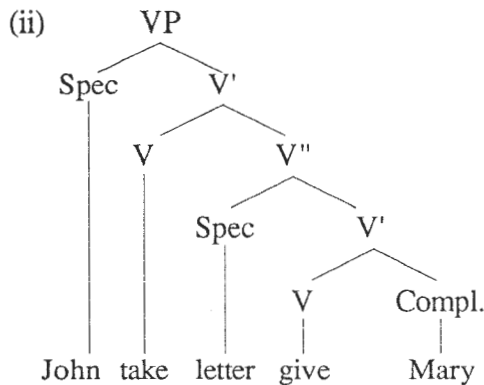
4. In Lefebvre and Massam (1988), it was suggested that the clausal determiner dominates CP. This proposal is not borne out by the data drawn from the dialects under study in this paper.
5. In Haitian, negation is expressed with the adverbial *pa* which I assume to be somewhat equivalent to *má/kún* in Fon. There is no lexical negation particle corresponding to Fon *ǎ* which suggests that the head of NEGP is phonologically null. I assume that empty heads have to be licensed (e.g. Travis, 1988) and that Spec-Head agreement is a way of achieving this licensing (cf. Cowper, 1991). Hence, the empty head of NEGP is licensed by the presence of *pa* in Spec of NEGP. I thus assume that the structure of the Haitian clause is parallel to the structure proposed for Fon. This structure is represented in (i).



6. The structure proposed in (35) presents a complex VP. A complex VP structure has first been proposed by Larson (1988) for double object constructions as represented in (i):



In Lefebvre (1989), I proposed that, in languages like Haitian and Fon, Take-Serial verb constructions project a syntactic structure of the type proposed by Larson for double object constructions in languages like English. This is represented in (ii), in which the higher V position is lexicalized by the Take verb (a CAUSE verb), the first verb of the construction.



In both structures, the higher V position corresponds to the primitive predicate CAUSE in the LCS of the predicate. If the higher V position can be lexicalized in some languages, then, we can assume that it is projected in all languages, even in those languages where only one of the two heads is realized. In presenting the structure in (35), I further assume that all verbs presenting a complex LCS (that is, a LCS with an embedded component) project a complex VP structure of the type in (i).

7. For a similar proposal, see Travis (in preparation).
8. In Haitian and Fon, agreement is defined only with respect to the feature [α deixis]. Number is not involved in agreement. As can be observed from the following examples, the clausal determiner never occurs with a plural morpheme, even in the context of a [+plural] specifier. (Cf. footnote 2 for specifications about plural.)

- (i) a. * Nèg (la) yo vòle manchin (nan) yo. HAITIAN
 * Dàwé (ó) léé fin môtô (ó) léé. FON
 man Det PL steal car Det PL
 [Lit.: 'The men stole a car/cars as expected.']
- b. * Yon nèg vòle manchin (nan) yo (a) yo. HAITIAN
 * Dàwé dé fin môtô (ó) léé (ó) léé. FON
 a man a steal car Det PL Det PL
 [Lit.: 'A man stole the cars as expected.']

The fact that the feature [α plural] is not involved in Spec-Head agreement in Haitian and Fon follows from Ritter's (1991) proposal that NUM(ber)P is a different projection than DP (cf. footnote 2). Hence, in these languages, number specification is a feature of the head of NUMP and not of the head of DP.

9. I assume that empty heads have to be licensed (e.g. Travis, 1988; Baker, 1988) and that Spec-Head agreement is a way of achieving this licensing (cf. Cowper, 1991). Hence, an empty head AGR has to be licensed by a DP in Spec of its projection. Since agreement in deixis involves delimiting arguments and the head of the AGR projection, the position will be licensed only when the clause contains a delimiting argument. Consequently, when a clause contains no delimiting arguments, AGRO will not be licensed and the AGR projection will not appear in the structure.
10. The projection headed by the determiner is also involved in Case assignment, a topic which is discussed in Lefebvre (in preparation).
11. Note that agreement within AGRSP may also occur in the context of an Individual-Level predicate as in (i).

(i)	Ròb	la	blan	an.	HAITIAN
	Àvò	ó	wé	ó.	FON
	dress	Det	be-white	Det	
	'Actually the dress is white.'				
12. The clausal determiner may also occur in the context of ergative verbs. Since the discussion of these facts entails an analysis of the class of ergative verbs, I do not discuss them in this paper.

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